Subah of Awadh Under The Mughals
(1582-1724)

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BY

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ABSTRACT

The Mughal *subah* of Awadh occupied a prominent place in the history of the Mughal Empire. Since times immemorial the name of Awadh has been associated with social, religious and cultural traditions of India. A number of works have been written on ancient and modern Awadh. The kingdom of Awadh (1724-1856) has attracted attention of the historians in the modern period. But no work on the history of the *subah* during the seventeenth century has so far been attempted. This thesis is an humble attempt to fill the gap. It seeks to study the political, administrative, economic, social and cultural history of the Mughal *subah* of Awadh.

Chapter I discusses the formation of the *subah* of Awadh under Akbar with a background of the political history during the Sultanate and the Mughal periods, the geographical features influencing the course of its history, the breakup of the *zamindari* clans, the social and political role in the history of the region, description of the Uzbek Revolt of 1565-67, the subsequent era of peace and stability, 1605-1707, the period of isolation and decline, 1707-1724. In fact this chapter traces the political history of the region down to 1724 together with the process of the formation and delination of the *subah* and the changes in the inclusion or otherwise of certain *parganas* with its area.

Chapter II deals with the organisation and working of the Mughal administrative institutions in Awadh, its adaptation to and evolution in the *subah* and its peculiar problems and shape. The position of the *subahdars* of Awadh vis-a-vis the Central authorities and the local administration is particularly highlighted. The powers and functions of other provincial departments and officials and their specific role in the context of the developments in the *subah* have been emphasised. Incidentally the character of the Mughal State as reflected by the operation of the Mughal administrative machinery in Awadh is further examined. The question as to why the *subahdar* of Awadh was given charge of the *faujdari* of Gorakhpur and later on the assignment of the *jagirdari* of the *sarkar* is examined. The judicial and intelligence services in the *subah* are further described.

Chapter III deals with agriculture and its manifold problems. It discusses the nature, scope, extension and limitation of the operation of agriculture, the crop pattern, the average agricultural efficiency of the *suabh*, supported by a few tables providing quantification and the regional break up of agricultural activity etc.

Chapter IV deals with the land revenue, its magnitude, method of assessment, the *jamadami* figures and the extent of extension of the *zabt* system to Awadh. It is supported by tables.

Chapter V is very important in its scope and operation. It deals with the distribution of the land revenue and related social groups. It discusses the problems and the peculiar pattern of the _khalisa_, _jagir_, the _madad-i ma'ash_ and the _zamindari_ lands. The _jagir_ transfers, nature and scope of _zamindari_ system, a detailed discussion of the _madad-i ma'ash_ land grants and the questions of conferment, authentification, succession, adjudication and the acquisition of _zamindari_ rights by _madad-i ma'ash_ land grantees figure prominently in this chapter. The social status of the grantees and their role in the social, economic and administrative set-up have also been touched upon.

Chatper VI a detail discussion of industry, trade and commerce in the _subah_ of Awadh and the importance of European factories in carrying on internal and foreign trade of Awadh is given. The view expressed by some modern writers to the effect that Awadh during the Mughal period had little commercial activity negated and the volume and pattern of the trade in and with the _subah_ is elaborated upon.

Chapter VII is another important chapter which seeks to study in religious life and movements of Awadh during the period under review. The history, ideology and theosophy of the mystic orders, particularly the Chishti and the Qadiri orders is given in this chapter in necessary details.

Chapter VIII ~~is devoted~~ also discusses to a description of the growth of religious literature and learning and the system of education in Awadh. The contribution by the scholars from Awadh to the development of the sciences of Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh and Arabic and Persian literature is elaborated and stressed and the system of education and the great educational and intellectual activities and zealous efforts made by the scholars and students supported by state munificence and public and private endowments is discribed in detail. The significant development in the field of education in Awadh which took the form of the Madrasa of Farangi Mahal and the system of instruction and curriculum known as the Dars-i Nizami are studied and critically assessed in this chapter.

The customary chapter of conclusion has been dispensed with as the Introduction contains a lengthy description of not only the feasibility and importance of the subject but the gist of all the important points of study and conclusions falling within the scope of the chapters of the thesis.

The source material for the study of the thesis consists of not only the chronicles, the daily records of the Imperial Court (Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla), administrative manuals and documents, the works on sufism and theological tracts, tazkirahs etc but a number of hitherto unknown documents and archival material and the like. Of special importance are the documents like the Jais Documents, Farangi Mahal Documents, Khairabad

Documents, Bilgram Documents, Allahabad Documents, U.P. State Archive Lucknow Documents etc. which have been utilised by me in the preparation of this thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

Awadh is an ancient land with a rich and varied cultural heritage. History and legend have contributed to lend it glory and splendour and fill its annals with spectacular facts of adventure, altruism, religious fervour, social advancement and cultural efflorescence. From times immemorial Awadh has vibrated with the din of battles,melody of the ballad songs and the spiritual outpourings of the sages and saints, as well as epics and scriptures unfolding the wisdom and the knowledge accumulated in our ancient past.

Awadh is the pride of India for staging the episodes of Lord Rama's life, the mysteries connected with the concepts and the religious system of Hinduism.

Ayodhya, from which the word Awadh has perhaps been derived was the ancient capital of the region which was associated with the tradition of Rama, Sita and Lachman and the sanctity of the three rivers Ganges, Ghagra and Gumti. The land is further characterised by the growth of Pali and Awadhi languages, the unique contributions of Malik Muhammad Jaisi and Tulsidas whose impact on literature and folk-lore, popular songs and music, growth of Rama cult and Vaishnava ideology has been profound and abiding.

A number of modern works on political, social and economic history of Awadh have already been composed on the kindom of Awadh (1724-1856) but no such study has been attempted on any significant aspect of the subah of Awadh under the Mughals. Hence the present study which seeks to discuss the political, administrative, social, economic and cultural history of the *subah* is an attempt to fill in this obvious void.

Broadly, the Mughal *subah* of Awadh lay between the Ganges and the Ghagra and was bounded by Delhi and Agra in the West, Allahabad in the south and Bihar in the east. The *subah* comprised the northern part of Hindustan with Himalayan ranges on its northern side and the Ganges flowing in the south-east upto Dalmau. In the east lay the territory forming the *sarkars* of Manikpur and Jaunpur, included in the *subah* of Allahabad, while the river Gandak made its north-eastern boundary, separating it from Nepal.

The *subah* of Awadh consisted of five *sarkars*, *viz*., Khairabad, Lucknow, Awadh, Bahraich and Gorakhpur. The *sarkar* of Lucknow occupied the south western part of the *subah* and the *sarkar* Bahraich covered the western portion of the trans-Ghagra tract, while *sarkar* Awadh included the northern part of the Ghagra and in the wouth it touched the boundary of *sarkar* Manikpur. *Sarkar*

Gorakhpur lay on the eastern side of the subah. The river Ghagra formed the dividing line between Gorakhpur and Allahabad and the Gandak flowed on its eastern flank.

During the Mughal period Awadh constituted a separate subah of the Empire during 1580-1724. It passed through varying fortunes in its long and chequered history. Being partly in the north and dominated by the martial clans of the Rajputs who formed the core of its zamindari set-up, the subah lay outside the direct and frequented routes connecting the eastern provinces with the western and north-western regions of the Empire. It was also a difficult charge to administer, subjugate and pacify a turbulent population.

The formation of the subah and the delineation of its boundaries underwent certain changes in terms of mahal allocation while the number of sarkars remained unchanged. Thus, the number of mahals of the subah of Awadh arose from 138 in 1595-96 to 150 in 1656, then it decreased to 139 in 1727 but again went up to 197 in 1741-42. This might evidently account for administrative considerations. But the addition of 40 new mahals in 1742 was caused by the expansionist policy of the governor of Awadh, Safdar Jang.

The study is divided into the following chapters.

Chapter I discusses the fomation of the subah of Awadh under Akbar with a background of the political history during the Sultanate and the Mughal periods as well as the marginal adjustments and variations in the number of *mahals*. The drainage system, the climate of the *subah*, its soil, the dominant castes and classes inhabiting it, the break-up of its *zamindari* clans, and their political and social role together with a description of the Uzbek Revolt of 1565-67, the subsequent era of peace and stability, 1605-1707, the period of isolation, 1707-1724, have been analysed.

Chapter II deals with the Mughal institutions, application of Mughal administrative apparatus to the *subah* of Awadh and the peculiar pattern of the administrative set-up as it was re-shaped in the *Subah*.

The administrative structure in the *subah* was to a greater extent a replica of that operating in the other provinces. But due to variety of factors including the peculiar conditions in the *subah*, the agrarian and commercial pattern, the *zamindari* set-up, the strategic considerations and the like, new developments in administrative organisation and powers and functions of the chief officials and their institutions took shape. To illustrate the point it may suffice to say that the role of a *subahdar* of Awadh fluctuated from time to time, so also his rank and position. During the

17th century Awadh assumed greater importance than it had in the 16th century.

In the heyday of the Mughal empire during Shah Jahan's reign another practice, that of conferring the _faujdari_ of Gorakhpur to the incumbent of the _subahdari_ of Awadh was introduced. The practice continued and developed further under Aurangzeb when it became a regular feature that the appointee to the _subahdari_ of Awadh was also given charge of the _faujdari_ of Gorakhpur and together with it further assigned the _jagirdari_ of that _sarkar_. This was a unique phenomenon that an unproductive _sarkar_ infested with rebels and free-booters became invariably a regular appanage and an indispensable concomitant of the governorship of Awadh. But strategic considerations and economic requirements necessitated such appointment. Three factors may plausibly be attributed to support this policy measure. (1) It would create extraordinary interest in the _subahdar_ to develop the _sarkar_ economically, boost agriculture, reclaim waste lands and enhance its resources and to clear jungles and wastes of the unruly and contumocious elements, enforce law and order and keep the _zamindars_ under subjection. (2) It would impel the _subahdar_ to make Gorakhpur a recruiting ground to equip his military machine with the raw and bellicose tribes and to turn them into a potential force, subservient and compliant at his behests, this force would not only he serviceable and

helpful to suppress the rebellions and unruly elements in the *sarkar* but to render all possible military assistance for service elsewhere in the *subah*. (3) The military base at Gorakhpur in close proximity to the *subah* of Bihar would be of immense help to keep the eastern provinces of Bihar and Bengal well-served in times of emergency and quel any rebellion there and the governorsof Bihar and Bengal could requisition sizable force from this base for reinforcement in their respective provinces. Herein lies the importance of Gorakhpur as a great strategic point as arsenal and supplier of timely military succour to the operation areas in the east. This point may be further demonstrated if the events of the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan and subsequent military campaigns of Aurangzeb's reign are kept in mind.

In the heirarchy of provincial officers of high rank, new to the *subahdar*, come the diwan, the *sadr*, the *Qazi-i subah* and the *Bakhshi*. Their position interse and vis-a-vis other officers of the state is also elaborated upon. Their *mansabs* status and relative importance too finds mention in the chapter.

In regard to the *Sadr* voluminous collections of documents like the *Farangi Mahal Documents*, *Jais Documents*, *Khairabad Documents*, *Bilgram Documents*, *Lucknow Archive Documents*, *Allahabad Documents* etc. have provided important clues

as to the multifarious duties of the *Sadr* and the procedure adopted in connection with the grant of *madad-i ma'ash* land to the deserving persons.

The functions and jurisdiction of the *qazi-i subah* in Awadh as well as the scope of his authority to try various kinds of dispute both as an original as well as appellate court have been mentioned in necessary detail.

The secret services and the intelligence media of the State including the *waqai-nawis* and the *Sawanih-nigar* and the chief executive officer of the *sarkar*, namely the *faujdar* are copiously dealt with. Some novel features of the *faujdari* operations of the *faujdar*, his treatment of the *zamindari* problems, his consultations with the *Qazi* and the *mutawalli* of *madad-i ma'ash* lands too are touched upon. The *pargana* officials are also given due treatment in the discussion.

Chapter III deals with agriculture and its manifold problems. It discusses the nature, scope, extension and limitation of cultivation in various regions and as a whole, the factors retarding tillage, the various kinds of soil, the seeds, fertility of land, the forests, irrigation, land tenures, occupancy rights, the relative importance and extent of the cultivated expanse in various *sarkars*, the main crops of the

various harvests and the average agricultural efficiency of the subah, supported by a few tables providing quantification and the regional break-up of detailed study are examined.

Chapter IV deals with the various aspects of land revenue. The extension of the zabt system to Awadh together with other systems operating in specific regions like muqtai operating in Gorakhpür the different methods of revenue assessment, the extension of the measurement of land, the magnitude of the land-revenue demand, the jamadami figures of the subah of Awadh, supported by detailed tables covering sarkar wise and pargana-wise break-up of the revenue figures per bigha in dams are the special features of this chapter.

Chapter V dealing with the distribution of the land revenue and related social groups counts as one of the most significant aspects of the thesis. The four-fold division of the land of the Empire into the khalisa, the jagir, the madad-i ma'ash and the zamindari lands. The discussion reveals the problems, policies, measures and experiments in relation to these kinds of land tenures in Awadh. It further seeks to apportion the khalisa lands in Awadh on the basis of jamadami figures of various sarkars.

The enormous source material bearing on madad-i-ma'ash documents, discovered, deciphered and analysed by me corroborates as well as supplements and amends many-sided aspects of this wonderful land-grant. The documents show that the madad-i ma'ash was a grant generally heritable and perpetual in character and the deeds of grant in many cases laid down the order of succession to the subsequent and future beneficiaries. The method of renewal and re-authentication of the original grants is also revealed in various documents. The procedure of dispensation, administration and supervision of the grants as well as the adjudication of cases arising out of disputes over defective titles, dispossession, unauthorised succession and encroachments and the like also figure in the documents and other contemporary literature.

Another important class connected with the land tenures was that of the zamindars or intermediaries who, too, played a significant role in the social and economic life in Awadh. They constituted the main upper class of the agrarian society and played very vital role not only in the development of rural economy but also in influencing State policies and political adjustments in the region during the period under review. The history and the categories and the relative importance of chief zamindari clans and the zamindari privileges and position of some of the prominent Rajput castes the Bisens the Bais, the Chuhan, the Raikwar clans etc., are dealt with in

detail. At the end a table containing a list of the <u>zamindars</u> of Awadh on the basis of the <u>Ain-i Akbari</u> is given.

<u>Chapter VI</u> deals with industry, trade and commerce in the Mughal subah of Awadh -- an important subject of investigation and study hither to neglected by the scholars.

The main source material on these aspects is provided by European sources, particularly the factory records and the foreign travellers accounts. The rivalry among the European Companies over monopoly of trade interests in Awadh and the attempts of the East India Company to oust other European Companies from the benefits of the trade in Awadh are elaborated upon. In this chapter, therefore, an attempt is made to study the various important centres of the <u>subah</u> as separate units of the trading activity of the British traders and the indigenous mercantile concerns. These centres include Lucknow, Daryabad, Khairabad, Awadh, Bahraich, Gorakhpur etc. It also details the trade-routes, mines, minerals, mints and the commercial taxes like the <u>rahdari</u>, sair, garden tax, custom duties, and appends a table showing the volume of trade in different goods with dates, volume, origin and destination of the goods and the references from relevant factory records.

<u>Chapter VII</u> is a very important one as it purports to study the religious life and movements of Awadh during the period under review.

It is necessary emphasis here that religion was a great dominating factor in the social life of the people in Awadh.

The region was the birth-place of the Rama cult, Many Bhakti reformers and the great Tulsidas (1532-1623) who "was a prince among devotees and his Ramacharitamanasa is classed among the best of devotional literature of India." Tulsidas propounded, enriched and disseminated the Vaishnava ideology through Rama cult. He described the nature of God with and without form, enunciated the doctrine of karma, explained that the world as seen through space, time and causation in Maya and described the Juia or the embodied soul and the relationship between God, Maya and the embodied soul. He explained the nine kinds of Bhakti to purify the life and conduct of a Bhakta. He laid stress on the repetition of the name of God and devotion to Him and control of the senses for the cultivation of Bhakti and urged on his followers to seek holy company. By his great epic and the ideology preached through his works, Tulsidas has made a great contribution to the Bhakti-marga. His literary and religious contribution shed lustre to the greatness to the period of Mughal Awadh.

The Mughal Awadh was also an abode of great sufis, ulama, mashaikh and the other Muslim divines of the Chishti, Qadiri, Suhrawardi, Qalandari and Naqshbandi orders. In

particular the saints of the Chishti and the Qadiri order made abiding contributions to the mystic theosophy and ideology. They established their silsilahs and the khangahs in various centres to guide mankind to a pure and pious life of inner felicity and contentment, denial of material comforts and licentious pleasures, pursuit of cardinal virtues and seeking the maximum good of the humanity at large.

Rudauli in district Barabanki was the chief centre of the Sabri branch of the Chishti order during the 15th and the 16th centuries. The chief saint of this sub-order, Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haq chose Rudauli in Awadh as the centre of his spiritual teachings and discourses and the activities of the sabiri affiliation of the Chishti order. Ruduli under him became the centre of attraction for the spiritual devotees from far and near. His life and discourses were compiled by his grandson's chief vecigerent, Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi under the title Anwar-ul Uyun.

Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Haq was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Arif, another saint of eminence of the order at Rudauli The latter was succeeded bh his son, Shaikh Muhammad Rudaulvi His chief khalifa was the famous saint, Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi who later on migrated to Gangoh (District Saharanpur) as the conditions in Rudauli had taken an adverse turn and life had become miserable there.

Abdul Quddus Gungohi had brought many important centres in Northern India within the periphery of the Sabiri-Chishti order and enunciated its doctrines and theosophy.

A significant feature of the Muslim mystic trends in the period is that Kabir who was the exponent of an eclectic ideology and a synthetic philosophy combining elements of thought from Hindusim and Islam, is considered as one of the Auliya Allah and as an eminent sufi. It shows the acceptance of the philosophy of Kabir by contemporary Muslim divines as well as the extent of accomodation and understanding of even erratic trends, provided that ardent monism and deep esoteric teachings are maintained as they constituted the hallmark of spiritual fraternities in medieval sufisim in Awadh.

Another significant name occurring in the category of Chishti saints is that of Malik Muhammad Jayasi, the famous author of Hindi works like the Padmavat, Khambavat, Dosti Nama, Holi Nama etc.

Other important Chishti saints included Shaikh Peer Muhammad Saloni, Shaikh Junayd Mohani, who settled at Sandila and Shaikh Abdul Jalil Chishti Lucknawi who introduced the Avaisi affiliation in the order.

The next important order which made rapid strides in Awadh and left a deed mark on the social and religious life was the Qadiri order whose most outstanding saint was

Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Bansawi (d. 1126/1724) at Bansi in the Basti district of Awadh region. The order developed immensely by his efforts and those of his descendants and disciples. He reorganised and re-invigorated the Qadiri order and infused it with new vigour, modified precepts and ideology.

Shaikh Abdur Razzaq discarded the isolationist tradition of the order and presented a fusion of worldly pursuits with high spiritual urges of a seeker of Divine love and knowledge. By his own example he demonstrated that military service under State or adventurers, was not incompatible with the mystic attainments.

His reverence to the Moharram ceremonies and <u>tazias</u> AND HIS SPIRIT OF ACCOMMODATION WITH THE Hindu traditions and concepts particularly the admiration to the mission and the cult of Sri Krishna are glaring examples of the new spirit manifested through his mystic philosophy.

This chapter also discusses religious literature and learning. In this Chapter attention is focussed on the tremendous development of Islamic learning and literature, particularly the development of religious sciences, like Quranic exegesis, Hadith, Fiqh and Kalam. Arabic and Persian literature, ethical and didactic works and the enormous literature on sufism, poetry, tazkiras and the like.

The *subah* was throbbing with intellectual, literary and educational activities and through the length and breadth of the region madrasas, khanqahs, literary centres were spread over and proliferated.

The Ulama and Muslim dinvines of this age contributed tremendously to the theological learning and religious sciences of Islam in a manifold branches and so it would be correct to assume that the contribution of Awadh and the growth of Islamic sciences during the Mughal period is second to none. Awadh's share in the development of theological learning is not simply repetitive and expository but it is real and original in many respects.

The most significant sphere where important works were composed consisted of *Tafsir* (Quranic exegesis), *Hadith* (Prophetic traditions) and *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence). In *Tafsir* *al Tafserati al Ahmadiyyah fi Bayan al-Ayat al Shariyyeh* commonly known as Tafseri Ahmadi of Mulla Jiwan Amethevi (d. 1130/1717). It is peculiar in the sense that it deals with the Quranic verses bearing on the commandments and prohibitions and perhaps the first on *Ahkam* as the author claims it to be.

Another important work on *Tafsir* is the *Al-Hilalayn Hashiyat al-Jalalayn* by Maulvi Turab Ali of Lucknow. This work

is not merely annotation but glosses, more comprehensive and copious than the *kamalayn*.

In *Hadith* Mir Sayyid Mubarak Bilgrami (1624-1703) gave the lead of understanding and dissemination of the knowledge of *Hadith*. His school of *Hadith* produced two outstanding figures in Hadith learning and literature, viz., Saiyyid Muhammad Fayz Bilgrami and Abdul Jalil Bilgrami. The later was an adept in *Hadith* and *Asma-ul-Rijal* and edited a text of Sahih of al-Bukhari.

On the principles of *Fiqh* one important book was composed in India during the period. It is the *Musallam as-subut* composed by Muhibb Allah Behari. He had deep connection with Lucknow and had long served as a Qazi there. The work served as the basis of a number of commentaries for long and has been included in the syllabi ever since. Its two main sections are on *Mahadi* (data) and *Maqasid* (conclusions).

Awadh during the Mughal period was the cradle of learning and education. It had *madrasas*, *khanqahs*, seats of learning not only in the important cities like Lucknow, Faizabad, Bahraich but also small towns like Dewa, Rudauli, Kakori, Salon, Bilgram, Amethi, Sihali, Gopamau, Jais, Khairabad etc. became the torch-bearers of knowledge where literary luminaries lit the lamp of higher learning and cosummate scholarship.

The stipends, *madad-i ma'ash* grants and other inducements to acquisition of knowledge granted to individuals and institutions by the munificence of the State, the nobility and private and public foundations to sustain educational and charitable endowments were the chief means of subsistence for the scholars and students alike. Students moved from place to place in search of teachers proficient in different branches of learning and the Mughal Emperors were very keen to keep this stupendous educational and literary tradition alive and vigorous.

An important feature of the first quarter of the 18th century was the establishment of the Madrasa of Farangi Mahal at Lucknow and the drawing up and evolution of the system of education and carriculam known as the Darsi-Nizami. Its chief features were (1) emphasis on rational sciences together with traditional theological learning, (2) the association of both the Shias and the Sunnis with this Madrasa and the carriculum, (3) the abiding nature and impact of this system of education and curriculum on the succeeding generations, (4) increasing emphasis on cramming and memorisation and (5) one important text prescribed for each subject and it was to serve as the guiding text for further study by the student.

It was indeed in view of this stupendous literary and educational zeal and activity that the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan used to remark that the " East (meaning thereby the subahs of Awadh, Allahabad and Bihar) was the shiraz of our Realm."

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S O U R C E S

The sources for the study of the Mughal subah of Awadh are various and varied, available in different libraries. Though there is no systematic work on the history of Mughal Awadh, yet the information collected from chroniclers, documents, is adequate to construct a well-connected account of the various aspects of the history of Awadh. It is surprising that neither the Mughal chroniclers nor foreign travellers supply such a detailed information about Awadh as they do in respect of other provinces of the Empire. Even Ain-i Akbari contains very little information regarding this province. The foreign travellers have ignored this province, and their accounts are bereft of any description which could throw light on the industrial and commercial activities in the area.

The available source-material is divided under the following categories:

A - Political and Administrative History

On this aspect the Ain-i Akbari and Akbarnamah of Abul Fazl occupy very important place in the historical literature on Awadh. But Abul Fazl's account is biased towards the Uzbegs who had revolted against Akbar in the province, as he has overlooked the role played by Ali Quli Khan in the battle of Panipat, 1556. Ali Quli Khan was the commander of the advance guard of Akbar's army and fought bravely against Shadi Khan, the commander of Hemu's advance force. While Abul Fazl fails to

record the services rendered by Ali Quli Khan in that famous battle, Badauni, on the other hand, extols them. However, *Ain-i Akbari* is useful for the agrarian and administrative information, and on its basis chapters dealing with these topics have been written. Another work of equal importance is *Tarikh-i Humayun wa Akbar* by Bayazid Biyat, which contains new and interesting data on the provincial administration of the *subah.*

The chroniclers of the reigns of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb are not very helpful in the study of the political and administrative history of Awadh. But various collections of documents pertaining to Aurangzeb's reign like *Insha-i Roshan Kalam* and the *Akhbarat Darbar-i Mualla* are rich in details on the local administration of the *subah*. They shed new light on the socio-economic changes obtaining in the towns and villages of the region during this period. The problems which the provincial government faced were very complex, and, but for the ability and energy displayed by the competent governors, the province would have slided into the abyss of anarchy and ruin. Another important source, the *Nigarnamah-i Munshi* by Malik Zada, which throws light on the local conditions of Allahabad and Agra, however, gives very brief information about Awadh. But this deficiency is amply made up by the imperial documents in the form of royal *farmans*, *sanads*, *parwanas* and *arzdashts*. These documents are preserved in the U.P. State

Archive Lucknow and also in a limited number in the Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh. They are our main source of information to asses the nature and working of the revenue administration in the suubah of Awadh.

B - Economic History :

As stated above the chroniclers do not mention any thing regarding the economic conditions in Awadh. The foreign travellers too neglected this aspect, because they could not visit the province which lay outside the normal route from Benares to Agra. As mentioned in "Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri" by Thevenot "The Two Provinces of Ayoud and naval are so little frequented by the Moguls, that they (from whom I asked an account of them) could give me none, though they were pretty well acquainted with the rest of Mogulistan; and therefore I cannot say much of them in particular."

It is strange to note that Abul Fazl in his Ain mentions of the fertility of twelve dasturs but does not refer to the fertility of the rabi harvest of six dasturs, namely Gorakhpur, Khairabad, Pali, Bharwarah and Lucknow. The Ain-i Akbari and the Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa provide information about the revenue of each pargana of Awadh for the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb. They also give us facts about the rise and decline of the revenue realisation in each pargana. Further, there are a number

Dastur-al Amals extending over the Mughal period from the reign of Akbar to that of the later Mughals which throw sufficient light on the economic condition and revenue administration in Awadh. The *Farhan-i Kardani* by Jagat Rai Shujai and *Chahar Gulshan* by Chaturman, supplement our information enabling us to study the revenue statistics of different years of the *subah*.

The *Tarikh-i Gorakhpur* by Ghulam Hazrat, a work of 19th century, is full of interesting information about many aspects of the history of Awadh. For instance modern historians have inferred that Awadh was entirely under the *zabti* system and as such the land of Awadh was measured before the fixation of revenue but Ghulam Hazrat asserts that the sarkar of Gorakhpur was beyond the pale of the *zabti* system and that there was no uniform system of revenue assessment in Awadh as the fixation of revenue was dependent on the fertility of the soil and the condition of the region. The *Dastur-al Amal-i Shahjahani* contains interesting information about the *khalisa* land in the *subah* of Awadh. In sarkar Lucknow, the jamdami was 10,85,560,25 out of which 62 lakhs of *jamadami* was put into *khalisa*. In *sarkar* Khairabad the total revenue was 7 karor, 33 lakhs, out of which 48 lakhs was included in khalisa. In *sarkar* Gorakhpur the *jamadami* was 2,47,41,250, out of which 48 lakhs was reserved for *khalisa*. But no information is available regarding the *khalisa* in sarkar Awadh and Bahraich. *Dastur-al Amal-i Shahjahani* is the only source which contains this valuable information regarding the *khalisa* land in the province.

Description of commercial and trade activities in this *subah* is given only in the Factory Records, and no other contemporary Persian source-material. A careful analysis of information contained in the *Factory Records* will establish the fact that the *subah* of Awadh played an important part in the commercial and industrial development of the country in the seventeenth century.

C - *Social Aspects* :

Mirat-ul Auzza of Laljee, an 18th century work contains an account of the different castes of *zamindars* and their attitude towards the centre. The description is also supported by other Mughal chronicles like *Akbarnamah*, *Tarikh-i Humayun wa Akbar*, *Badshahnamah* of Mohammad Salah Kambu and Qazwini, and other works e.g. *Insha-i Roshan-i Kalam* of Bhupat, *Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla*, *Allahabad documents*, *Faramin-i Salatin* etc.

There is one important aspect in the socio-economic history of the period on which information is plentiful relating to *madad-i ma'ash* grant and its holders. On this peculiar aspect the Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh have acquired many useful collections of local documents which as *Jais Documents*, *Khairabad Documents*, *Bilgram Documents*, *Farangi Mahal Documents* and Transcripts of *Allahabad Documents*, which throw abundant light on the grant, allocation, administration, maintenance, adjudications

as well as the nature and significance, the utility and desirability of the madad-i ma'ash grants. The madad-i ma'ash grants also tell us about the position, the prosperity, the social status etc of the grantees. One significant development is that the madad-i ma'ash holders of Aurangzeb's reign claimed and acquired zamindari rights during the 18th century. The sources under review also furnish information regarding the extent of wealth and poverty which the subah witnessed at different times. While the Akbarnamah, Tarikh-i Humayun wa Akbar etc. refer to the prosperity of the subah under Akbar, the Insha-i Roshan Kalam, Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla, different farmans and other documents tell about the unrest and bankruptcy that prevailed in the subah of Awadh.

D - Cultural History:

The cultural history of the subah of Awadh is very rich and the source materials on this aspect is copious. Awadh, as mentioned above, was reputed for the growth of religious literature and theological works, Islamic sciences, learning and education which had found a very fertile soil in Awadh. The works of most of the scholars are extant in both Arabic and Persian. The various Tazkiras of the Ulema like the Maasir-ul-Kiram, the Sarwi Azad and Subhatul Marjan of Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, the Ulama-i Farangi Mahal of Altafur Rahman, the

Aghsan-al-Arba of Waliullah Farangi Mahali as well as general works like the Tazkira-i Ulama-i Hind, by Rahman Ali and the Hadaiqul Hanifiya are some of the important works which give detailed account of the lives and activities of the Ulema. As regards the sufis whose contribution to the growth of mystic ideology is very significant, we have a number of works; for instance, the Mulfuz-i Razzaqi and Manaqivi Razzaqiya by Nizamuddin Sihalvi, the Iqtavarul Anwar, the Muntakhabul Tawarikh by Badauni, the Khazinat-ul Asfiya by Gulam Sarwar, the Akhbar-ul Akhyar, by Abdul Haq Delhavi and many other such works which are really a mine of information not only for the development of sufism in Awadh but also give us various facts of the social and general history of Awadh.

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CHAPTER - ONE

FORMATION OF THE SUBAH OF AWADH UNDER AKBAR

Historical Setting:

The pattern of the provincial or local administration that emerged under the Sultans of Delhi was of three categories. The first was vilayat, a vast dominion, the second was shiq, a small territorial unit; while the third was iqta, a smaller division, comprising of few parganas. Provinces were from time to time organized in one or other of these forms by different rulers in keeping with requirements of the changed situations. Awadh or Ajodhya was first brought under the sway of the Delhi government by Qutbuddin Aibak, and in view of its large size and strategic importance, the newly conquered territory was entrusted to nobles of tested loyalty and ability. In 1225 Sultan Iltitumush appointed his eldest son Nasiruddin Mahmud as its governor, who was an exceptionally gifted administrator. Awadh has been mentioned by Afif as iqta-i Awadh, an administrative unit under the charge of a supreme executive officer who combined military and civil functions. On 2 January 1243 the author had set out on a journey to Lakhnauti, and during his stay in Awadh he received warm reception and good treatment from its governor, Qamar-uddin Qiran Tamur. In the regime of Balban the extensive and insufficiently administered vilayats were divided into small units, and each, called shiq, was placed under the charge of loyal and capable general, designated both muqta and faujdar. But the boundaries of Awadh remained unchanged,

and the local administrative system as evolved over these decades continued to operate throughout the thirteenth century. There could be appointed more than one muqta in a vilayat and shiq. The muqtas had to submit complete account of the revenues to the finance ministry (diwan-i-wizarat) like those of the vilayats and shiqs, and all these executive and military officers were required to function in their respective areas in accordance with rules and regulations set out in their appointment letters and other imperial farmans issued to them most frequently from the centre. While an effective control was maintained by the Central government over the province, the governors preserved their independence of action which flowed mainly from the pervasive and chronic state of warfare and turbulence in the area.

When Jalal-ud-din Khalji ascended the throne in 1289, Malik 'Ali, a dependent of Balban held the charge of Awadh, who espoused the cause of Malik Chhaju in Kara. The rebellion was suppressed, and though Malik Ali was pardoned, the province of Awadh was given to Ala-ud-din Khalji, who on his accession entrusted its administration to Malik Ala-ul-Mulk faujdar of Kara. After the transfer of the latter to Delhi as its Kotwal, Bakhtan was appointed the governor of Awadh. Under the Tughluqs some territorial readjustments and administrative rearrangements were effected in Awadh. Out of this too extensive vilayat new iqtas, like Jaunpur, Lucknow and Sandila were

constituted. The iqta of Sandila included Hardoi and Lucknow Qannauj has been mentioned as iqta while Dalmau as shiq. Firoz Shah had visited Awadh in the course of his expedition of Bengal, and it was during his stay of six months that he founded the city of Jaunpur in 1359. The king granted iqtas to nobles in the vicinity of Jaunpur which was made the headquarters of the district. As the city grew in population and prosperity it became prominent in the eastern region of the upper India.

The process of disintegration that had set in during the last decades of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign acquired dangerous dimensions after the death of Firoz Shah in 1388. Central authority collapsed and centrifugal forces prevailed everywhere, causing widespread anarchy and confusion. The muqtas by and large severed their ties with the centre, and assumed independent power in their respective vilayats. Taking advantage of this state of flux Khawajah Jahan, on whom Firoz's younger son, Muhammad Shah had conferred the title of Sultan-us-Sharq, founded the Sharqi kingdom in this area in 1394, - five years before the invasion of Timur. Khawajah Jahan, a powerful and experienced governor (muqta) of Zafarabad and Jaunpur, took possession of nearly all the eastern territories, including Qannauj, Awadh, Kara, Dalmau, Sandila, Bharaich and Jaunpur. His successors ruled the kingdom with vigour and

ability, and their strong government and patronage of local cultural institutions contributed to the prosperity and happiness of the people. For nearly hundred years the Sharqi kingdom enjoyed independence from external authority till it came under the heavy military pressure of the Lodi kings, and was finally liquidated by Bahlul Lodi in 1484.

Sultan Bahlul Lodi gradually brought the whole eastern land under his direct control, and appointed his own faithful officers as _muqtas_ in the annexed territories, now termed as _sarkar_, extending from Badaun to Awadh and Jaunpur. It appears that the _shiq_ was given the status of _sarkar_ which acquired territorial as well as fiscal significance.[1] Some of the _sarkars_ which were constituted as administrative units were very large while others comprised only a few _parganas_. Barring this territorial reconstruction no major change either in the pattern of centre-province relationship or internal administrative arrangements. But the area did not enjoy peace and stability, due to constant disorders and armed conflicts of varied character which dominated its political scene. Thus, _sarkar_ as a well-defined administrative unit existed before Babar conquered this eastern part of the Lodi kingdom, and he for administrative conveience adopted it as such

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1. Ni'mat-ullah, _Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani_, I, pp. 195-6.

without changing its size or set-up. The list of the Lodi *sarkars* given in *Babur Nama* tends to substantiate this hypothesis.[1]

Name of *sarkar*	Total *jama'* in *tankas*
1. Khairabad	12,65,000
2. Awadh and Bharaich	17,01,369
3. Sarwar (Gorakhpur)	15,17,506½
4. Qannauj	1,36,63,358
5. Lucknow and Baksar	1,39,82,433

The territory of Jaunpur has been mentioned as *vilayat* with the *jama'* of 4,008,833 *tankas*.

On the termination of Ibrahim Lodi's rule over Delhi and Agra the whole of northern India did not come directly under the possession of Babur without a hard and prolonged struggle. For designs of expansion in the eastern dominion the Mughal conquerer despatched a strong expedition under the command of his son Humayun in August 1526. The Mughal army encountered little resistance in subduing the region extending to the town of Ballia. However, military victory did not mean the end of the Afghan power, nor the establishment of Mughal ascendancy on secure foundations. Embers of

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1. *Babur Nama*, Eng. Tr. Mrs. Beveridge, II, p. 521.

discontent over the loss of independent power continued to smoulder in the quarters of the Afghan chiefs who had for long held sway in the area. On the first opportunity they struck and captured Lucknow, routing a Mughal force that had been left there to maintain vigilance over the activities of the recalcitrant elements. In response to their challenge Babur soon swooped down upon them and scattered the enemy forces that had gathered under the banners of their *sardars*, like Bayazid, Bibon and Ma'ruf. As hard realist and far-sighted diplomat, Babur realized that the Afghans could not thoroughly be dislodged from their position of power and influence in this particular area by mere demonstration of military superiority in the battlefield. He, therefore, devised the policy of conciliation with the chiefs of the fallen dynasty, and followed it studiously by assigning to them revenues on the obvious condition of their submission to his suzerainty.

In pursuit of this policy Babur granted to Firoz Khan Sarang Khani one forty six lakhs five thousand *tankas* from the revenue of Jaunpur. Likewise, Shaikh Bayazid received grant of one crore forty-eight lakhs and forty thousand *tankas* from the revenues of Awadh, and Mahmud Khan ninety lakhs and thirty five thousand *tankas* from Ghazipur. The administration of Jaunpur which had the total income of 400833 *tankas* was placed in the hands of Sultan Junaid Barlas and Shah Mir

Husain who served as joint hakims (governors) of the whole territory.[1] "The total assignments in the hands of the Afghans were about 1/4 of the total jama' of Hindustan which was about fifty two crores."[2] Different administrative arrangements were set up in different regions and areas. Eastern Provinces were put under the charge of the Afghans nobles who belonged to the former ruling class. The officer responsible for the collection for the state dues and the revenues of the territory assigned to him was styled wajhdar and he performed all the functions of the iqtadars of the earlier period.[3] Beyond this political arrangement which the expediency of the situation dictated Babur did not devote himself to the imperative task of reconstructing the administration on new lines. He allowed great latitude to the governors on whose support his own position and authority rested.

Even his policy of conciliation failed to achieve its objective. The Afghan officers in whose hands the administration of the Awadh region had been vested were implacable in their hostility towards the Mughal invaders,

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1. Babur Nama, II, pp. 527, 636-638.
2. Radhey Shyam, Babar, Patna, 1978, p. 421.
3. Babar, pp. 416-417.

and they made no secret of their intentions to regain independence from the foreign yoke when some opportunity favoured their cause. Soon after Babur's death in 1530 the Afghans launched a relentless offensive against the Mughals now in disarry, and by a series of military successes broke their power, resulting in their final explusion from the land they had subjugated more than a decade before. An analysis, however brief, of this bitter Mughal-Afghan struggle is scarcely needed for a discussion of the main stages in the evolution of provincial administration, with special reference to Awadh, during the period under review. Humayun had neither the will nor time to pay attention to the improvement of administrative arrangements his father had hastily made in this province. The Afghan assignees not only realised the revenue but also conducted the civil and military affairs of areas under their jurisdiction.

Sher Shah, the new Emperor, maintained former boundaries of Awadh and adopted the existing administrative system without any major alterations or modifications. The province extending from Sambhal (Ruhilkhand) to Awadh and Jaunpur was an important and large territory in the heart of the empire. It was, therefore, placed under the charge of Masnad Ali Isa Khan, an experienced and loyal general. As

Ruhilkhand had ever been a scene of insurgency and turbulence, its important city Sambhal was chosen as a seat of provincial government. The governor was instructed to suppress disaffection and strife with iron hand. He was further required to keep a force of 5,000 horse, well-equipped and regularly paid, for whose maintenance a suitable jagir was granted to him. For his assistance Nasir Khan was appointed as deputy-governor. The Afghan Emperor infused a new spirit of vigour and efficiency in the local administration and sternly dealt with all cases of recalcitrance and dereliction of duty. Though he recognized the Afghan principle of monarchy and allowed his Afghan nobles to enjoy their privileged positions he very tactfully curbed their pretentions and made them work to exalt the prestige of the government and win the good-will of the people. His son and successor also followed the same policy towards the nobles and the governors. "Thus the restoration of strict order and discipline among the higher servants of the state, and establishment of a thoroughly efficient and rigorous system of government was the proud achievements of the first two Sur Sultans."[1]

Intermitent warfare, rapid replacement of one governor by another and conflicts within the ruling families characterised the period following the death of Sher Shah in 1545. It was Akbar who after accession to the throne in

1. P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 151.

1556 restored peace and stability in the area by imposing his political and administrative control over it. However, during this period of transition the administrative machinery, though perpetually distracted by convulsions, continued to operate on the same theoretical basis which had been laid down under the Lodis. Moreover, socio-economic structure of the society remained unaffected by the political vicissitudes through which it had passed throughout these centuries. The village Panchayats and social institutions carried on their comprehensive functions and contributed to the integration and stability of the rural society.

Consolidation of Mughal Power in Awadh Region, 1556-1580:

Akbar held the celebrations of his success at Delhi on 6 November 1556 and conferred rewards and honours on his generals who had rendered valuable services in the battle of Panipat. On this occasion he appointed Ali Quli Khan Shaibani as governor of *subah* Sambhal that included Awadh and Jaunpur, and bestowed on him the title of Khan-i Zaman, and assigned the district of Sambhal together with a few *parganas* in Doab in *jagir*. Ali Quli Khan proceeded to Sambhal to take charge of his office with a strong force, and he in a short time established the imperial authority in the province by defeating Rukn Khan Lohani, a notable officer of Adil Shah. The Afghans then gathered under the standared of Ibrahim Sur in the vicinity of Jaunpur to carve out an

independent principality, and in his endeavours received support in men and money from Sultan Bahadur of Bengal. To cope with this alarming situation Akbar directed Ali Quli Khan to march against the rebels and despatched considerable reinforcements to his relief. This heavy concentration of the imperial armed forces disheartened the Afghans to venture an offensive, and consequently, they quickly withdrew from the battle-front, leaving a large booty to fall of the Mughals. With the capture of Jaunpur the position of the Mughals became strong and the place served as an important military base to launch operations against the Afghans in the east. Ali Quli Khan held under his jurisdiction the entire area extending from Sambhal to Jaunpur and the supreme command of the Mughal forces stationed at different strategic paints.

The Afghans of the eastern provinces again rose in arms to overthrow the Mughal power and establish their own supremacy. They collected a huge army of 20,000 horse, 50,000 foot and 500 elephants under the banner of Sher Khan, son of Adil, with the immediate object of capturing Jaunpur and the adjacent territory. Sher Khan ruled over a large area from his headquarters at Chunargarh and exercised tremendous influence on his tribemen who hated the Mughals and wanted to drive them out. In 1561 the Afghans marched on Jaunpur and encamped on the bank of the river Gomti. On learning of this development Akbar sent a strong army under the command of

experienced generals to the aid of Ali Quli Khan, the governor of Jaunpur. A fierce battle was fought outside the city of Jaunpur in which the Mughals, inspite of setbacks at the beginning, ultimately succeeded in overpowering the Afghans and routing them. The victory gained by the Mughals was chiefly due to the remarkable strategy and generalship exhibited by Ali Quli Khan.

Thus, Jaunpur became the theatre of warfare, and the centre of gravity shifted from Sambhal to this place which rapidly grew in importance and attained the status of administrative and military headquarters of the government. It is difficult to determine the period with any degree of accuracy when Jaunpur was seprated from the subah of Sambhal and made independent territorial division whose governor was now Ali Quli Khan, though originally appointed for the whole subah of Sambhal in 1556. However, the contemporary chroniclers have started mentioning Jaunpur as a distinctly seprate administrative unit roughly from this time, and Sambhal eclipses into background in relation to the political events and changes occuring in the eastern dominion. The administrative arrangements introduced in the period following the suppression of the Uzbek revolt, 1564-1567, throw further light on the process of territorial adjustments which finally led to the emergence of subah Awadh. When the Uzbek officers, like Bahadur Khan, Sikandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan, closely related with the ties of blood and marriage, raised the banner of

revolt against the king in 1564, Ali Quli Khan, a prominent member of this clan-group, completely identified himself with them and plunged in the turmoil of fighting and violence with his characteristic zeal and determination. The revolt that raged for three years, with few intervals of uneasy truce, ended in the total destruction of the rebels, contributing to the consolidation of the Mughal authority and restroration of tranquility in this strifetorn area. Mun'im Khan, who had played a key-role as commander of the royal forces and peace-maker was appointed governor of Jaunpur. He took over charge of his new office late in June 1567. In this region the important administrative or military charges and the officers placed under his direct supervision were as follows:-

Name of *sarkar*	Name of officer
1. Benares	Bayazid
2. Jaunpur	Mun'im Khan's direct control
3. Chunar	Hasan Ali Khan
4. Ghazipur	Talihi Sultan
5. Awadh	Muhammad Quli Khan
6. Bahraich-Lucknow	Wazir Khan
7. Gorakhpur	Payanda Muhammad Saghush

Mun'im Khan not only appointed *faujdars* and *shiqdars* on his own initiative but also freely used his discretion in alloting new *jagirs* subject to the approval of the Emperor. The executive officers associated with him in carrying out the provincial government were:

1. *Diwan* (in charge of revenue administration)
2. *mir-i mal* (finance officer)
3. *Mir-i Saman* (steward)
4. *bakhshi* (
5. *sadr* (head of religious matters)

The wide executive powers vested in Mun'im Khan show that he, as an effective and strong instrument of the imperial interest, could enforce law and order in the centres of trouble without being hampered by the controlling authorities of the central government in administrative routine work. The state of emergency existing in this region demanded it. Mun'im Khan's jurisdiction extended up to Awadh, Bahiraich and Khairabad and the entire territory which later on formed the *subah* of Awadh, ~~was under his authority~~.

The period between 1567 and 1572 witnessed a perceptible improvement in the local administration, growth of agriculture, trade and commerce, as well as development of towns and construction of roads and bridges. With the establishement of new localities and settlements Jaunpur expanded both in size and population; Zamaniya grew from a military outpost to a full-fledged town; and the town of Akbarpur was founded by Mohsin Khan in Awadh during this period. At the sametime a number of bridges were constructed; the fort of Jaunpur was repaired and strengthened, and a new one was built in Akbarpur; while Bayazid completed the construction of a *madrasah* in Benares in 1571. Sometime at the end of 1570

Raja Todarmal came to Jaunpur to review the troops employed for the impending Bengal expedition. The organized the revenue administration and adopted measures to eradicate corruption among the assignees. He held an inquiry into the conduct of Bayazid Beg, the commandant of Benares, and removed Dost Muhammad, the provincial bakhshi, from his post on charges of inefficiency and dishonesty.[1]

Early in 1573 disorders again erupted in the region. Yusuf Muhammad Uzbek, son of Suleman Uzbek, escaped from the prison at Agra and came to Gorakhpur which he captured. However, Mun'im Khan swiftly suppressed the insurrection and recovered Gorakhpur. Shortly after this episode a huge Afghan army under the command of Lodi Khan crossed the Mughal frontier and conquered Zamaniya. They had been encouraged in undertakeing this rash offensive by the reports of Akbar's pre-occupations in the campaigns of Gujarat. They had calculated that in the absence of any reinforcement from the Centre Mun'im Khan would surrender most of the territory under the pressure of their surprise attack, and they planned to engulf a large area with the violence of their aggression. Undettered by the overwhelming force of the enemy, Mun'im Khan hastily moblised the available troops at Jaunpur and sent for the Mughal generals posted in the adjoining towns to rush with their contingents to his assistance. Soon a formidable army gathered together to fight and drive away the enemy. The Afghans lost their confidence and withdrew beyond the river Son, that

1. For details see, District Gazetteers of Agra and Oudh, XLIII, p. 186; XXVIII, pp. 233-237.
Iqbal Ahmad, Tarikh-i Shiraz-i Hind Jaunpur, pp. 887,889.

divided the two kingdoms in the east.

After the conquest of Gujarat Akbar resolved on the conquest of Bengal where political developments consequent on Suleman Karrani's death were taking a turn that was considered favourable for such a project Mun'im Khan was entrusted with the supreme command of the army organized for this important task. The fruit of these efforts was the fall of Patna in August 1574, resulting in the occupation of the entire province of Bihar. Mun'im Khan was selected for the post of the governorship of the newly conquered province. He was relieved of his charge of Jaunpur and assigned the responsibility of supervising the military operations in Bengal. Since this time till his death in 1575 Mun'im Khan remained in Bengal, engaged in the activities aimed at the annexation of the province. Under the new scheme of territorial reorganization the province of Jaunpur was converted into the <u>khalisa</u> territory to be settled and administered directly by the officers of the crown instead of the assignees as hitherto had been the practice. Accordingly, Mirza Mirak Rizavi (Razavi Khan), and Shaikh Ibrahim of Sikri were put in charge of the administration. The entire <u>khalisa</u> territory was divided into 182 fiscal units, each expected to yeild a revenue of one crore of <u>dams</u>, equivalent to 2,50,000 rupees and placed under an experience officer called Karori, who was to be assisted by a clerk (<u>karkun</u>) and a treasurer (<u>fotahdar</u>).

The region under the jurisdiction of Mun'im Khan consisting of Jaunpur, Benares, Chunar and the country upto the Karamnasa river was the first to be so constituted as *khalisa* territory under the new scheme of reforms introduced in August - September 1574. Even after the disintegration of Jaunpur province and its subsequent merger with the province of Allahabad, it was nevertheless regarded as the province of Jaunpur for a pretty long time. Abul Fazl writing about Jaunpur says:

> "In 1580 Akbar transferred Masum Khan Farraukhandi, the governor of Jaunpur, to Ghazipur, and Tarson Muhammad Khan was appointed the governor of Jaunpur and Maulana Mohammad Yezdi the *sadr* of of Jaunpur."[1]

Muhammad Sadiq Khan writes:[2]

> "The governorship of Allahabad was given to Khan-i Dauran, the governorship of Bihar and Patna to Daud Khan and *subedari* of Jaunpur to Mukarram Khan."

Khafi Khan writing at the beginning of the eighteenth century records:[3]

> "The news about A'zam Khan, governor of Jaunpur reached the court, and the *subedari* of Jaunpur was given to Mu'taqid Khan."

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1. *Akbar Namah*, III, p. 410.
2. *Tarikh Shah Jahani-wa-Alamgiri*, p. 107.
3. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, p. 685.

Formation of the subah of Awadh, 1580:

Abul Fazal writes that in 1580 Akbar divided his empire into twelve subahs or provinces, and each was placed under the charge of a governor, officially called sipahsalar. A new staff of equally important officers, namely, diwan, bakhshi, mir'adal, sadr, kotwal, mir bahar, and waqai'-Nawis was set up for carrying the administration of every subah. Awadh being one of these twelve subahs, was provided with this system of administration. For the first time strict uniformity in the functions of the executive officials, rules and regulations, administrative procedure and routine was introduced in all the provinces of the empire.[1] Its capital city was Ajodhya, from which the name of Awadh was derived. The subah of Awadh embraced the northern part of Hindustan, with Himalyan ranges on its northern side and the Ganges flowing in the south-east upto Dalmau. In the east it was bound by the territories comprising the sarkars of Manikpur and Jaunpur included in the subah of Allahabad. The river Rapti formed the north-eastern boundry, separating it from the country of Nepal.

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1. The other eleven subahs were: Agra, Allahabad, Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Bihar, Bengal, Dilhi, Kabul, Lahore, Multan and Malwa. Akbar Namah, III, p. 412; Ain-i Akbari, Eng. trans. p. 129. When Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar were conquered their number was fixed at fifteen, Kashmir and Qandhar were included in Kabul, while Sindh or Thatta was attached to Multan and Orissa to Bengal.

The *subah* of Awadh contained five *sarkars*: Khairabad, Lucknow, Awadh, Bahraich and Gorakhpur. *Sarkar* of Lucknow occupied the south-west portion of the *subah* and the *sarkar* Bahraich covered the western portion of trans-Ghagra; while *sarkar* Awadh included the norther part of the Ghagra and in the south it touched the boundry of *sarkar* Manikpur. *Sarkar* Gorakhpur lay on the eastern side of the *subah*. The river Ghagra divided Gorakhpur from Allhabad and Gandak flowed in the east. The number of *mahals* in each *sarkar* varied from time to time as the following tables show.

Table No. I

Awadh	Bhairaich	Khairabad	Lucknow	Gorakhpur	Period	Authorities
21 *Mahals*	11 *Mahals*	22 *Mahals*	55 *Mahals*	24 *Mahals*	1595-6	*Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. II, p.78.
21 "	12 "	24 "	55 "	32 "	1656	*Dastur-al Amal-i Alamgiri*, f.119a.
22 "	12 "	24 "	57 "	34 "	1720	*Chahar Gulshan*, f. 81a.
22 "	22 "	25 "	56 "	34 "	1727	*Dastur-al Amal-i Shahjahani*, f.37.
22 "	12 "	25 "	56 "	35 "	-	*Khazat-i Muta-farriqa*, f. 97.
22 "	12 "	25 "	56 "	34 "	-	*Dastur-al Amal* of Munshi Thakur, p. 30.

Table No. 2

Ever - changing number of mahals of the subah throughout the period

Number of Sarkars	Number of Mahals	Period	Authorities
5 sarkars	138 mahals	1595-96	Ain-i Akbari, vol. II, p. 79.
5 "	--	1605	Iqbalnama Dafter,2,ff.463
5 "	150 "	1656	Dastur-al Amal-i Alamgiri, f. 119a.
5 "	149 "	1667	Mirat-al Alam,f.215a.
5 "	149 "	1676	Dastur-al Amal-i Ilm-i-Navisindagi, f. 145.
5 "	175 "	1691	Zawabit Alamgiri, p.4.
5 "	149 "	1699	Farhang-i Kardani,f.20a.
5 "	150 "	1709	Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, p. 52.
5 "	197 "	--	Khulasat-ut Tawarikh,p.44.
5 "	149 "	1720	Chahar Gulshan, f.81b.
5 "	139 "	1727	Dastur-al Amal-i-Shahjahani, p. 37.
5 "	149 "	--	Dastur-al Amal-i Thakur Munshi, p. 30.
5 "	150 "	--	Halat Mamalik Mahrusa-i Alamgiri, p. 131.
5 "	150 "	--	Dastur-al Amal, p. 3b.
5 "	197 "	1741-42	Tarikh-i Hind, p. 45.
5 "	197 "	--	Khalasat-ul Hind, p.50.
5 "	149 "	--	Dastur-al Amal-i-Navisindagi.
5 "	150 "	--	Khagat-i Mutafarriqa,p.97.

The data contained in these two tables suggest that during the period under review the number of sarkars remained fixed while the number of mahals continued changing not only in this particular subah of Awadh but in other adjoining subahs or provinces, too, as one or more mahals were taken out from one province and added to another. For instance, Bilgram an important mahal of sarkar Lucknow in the reign of Akbar, was transferred to the sarkar of Qannauj in Agra by the orders of Jahangir.[1] Sarkar Gorakhpur, when extended, included mahals of sarkar Bharaich, but some mahals of Allahabad province, like Mubarakpur of A'zamgadh, was added to it.[2] Thus, the number of mahals of subah of Awadh rose from 138 in the year 1595-96 to 150 in 1656, then it decreased to 139 in 1727 but again went up to 197 in 1741-42. The reason behind this rise and fall in the number of mahals was evidently administrative convenience. The addition of 40 new mahals in 1742 was owing to the expansionist policy which the governor of Awadh, Safdar Jang, pursued by forcibly seizing lands from the amils and jagirdars. In the period following the invasion of Nadir Shah the central authority had declined and the governors started usurping lands and withholding payment of tribute to the king who, being helpless under the prevailing unsettled conditions, recognized most reluctantly their new possessions.

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1. Sharif-ul Hasan Bilgrami, Khitta-i Pak Bilgram, pp. 146, 175, 183.
2. Sujan Rai Bhandari ?

<u>Drainage System</u> :

The general slope of the land in the <u>subah</u> of Awadh is from north-west to south-east. River currents flow in paralled lines with each other, i.e., west-north-west to east-south-east. Most of the rivers that pass through Awadh emerge from the Himaaliyas, running from north to south and from south to south-east. These rivers with their various tributaries from the main drainage lines of the region, irrigating large areas and enriching their soil. The course of same rivers is marked by ravines and enferior sandy soil, while low lying ill-drained land is also found at same places in which water gathers forming the <u>Jhilas</u> and creating stretches of <u>usar</u>. The river Ganges constitutes the boundry between the provinces of Agra and Awadh, and it carries all the drainage not only of Awadh but the whole of northern India and discharges it into the Bay of Bengal. Ghaghara forms the northern boundry of Awadh, and drains a considerable part of <u>haveli</u> Awadh. Emerging from Nepal hills it enters into Awadh and flows in two seprate streams. It runs towards south east and then to east, and passes through the <u>mahals</u> of Fakhrpur, Hisampur, Mungalsi, Awadh, Sarwapati, Naipur, Daryaparah, Chilluparah and Ruhlaparah. It joins the Ganges in the Saran district of Bihar. During the dry season the river shrinks to comparatively small dimensions, but it

attains an immense size and volume during the rains. It is extraordinarily erratic in its course, always changing its channel from year to year. It is practically useless for irrigation purposes, but at the same time it poses no danger of flood except in the low lands.

The western most tributary of Ghagra is Kali also known as Sarda which starting from Nepal joins it in the west of modern Sitapur district. The Rapti and little Gandak are other important tributaries which the Ghagra received in Gorakhpur and Deo ria districts respectively. The proper name of Rapti in the sacred language is the Airamati, so called after the elephant of the God Indra, by whom it is said to have been formed. It is formed by the union of two rivers, the Mari and Jhingruk, which have courses of considerable length among the lower mountains. After a long course, the Rapti comes to the eastern boundry of Gorakhpur district. The streams of these rivers are in general perennial and therefore useful for agriculture and commerce.

Gomti is another principal river of Awadh. It has its origin in the Pilibhit district, and after entering Kheri flows southward to form the boundry between the districts of Hardoi and Sitapur, and passing through Lucknow enters Barabanki. The bed of the river is a good deal below the

general surface of the country; consequently it can not be utilized for irrigation purposes; the best lands, too, are always at same distance from the river. The villages on the high bank are devoid of irrigation and are liable to suffer from a deficency of moisture. The tributary streams of the Gomti are few and small. The chief of them is the Behta, a small peremial stream which starts in the Hardoi district. The Loni is another small stream which commences its course in the Mohanlalganj pargana, and after flowing east for about nine miles joins the Gomti on its right bank near Salempur. The Sai river enters the district of Lucknow on the south-west from pargana Mohan of Unnao, and ultimately joins the Gomti, traversing Rai Bareli and Partabgarh, 18 miles below Jaunpur. There are two important tributaries of the Sai; Nagwa and Bakh. The Khadir of the Sai is very small.

The second system of drainage in the subah of Awadh is formed by the Tons, the name given to the combined waters of the Marha and Bisui after their junction on the western border of pargana Akbarpur. Its course is throughout exceedingly tortuous, but it serves as an efficient drainage channel in most season, although at times it causes floods. In the winter it often runs dry, but throughout the year is navigable, and in the rains boats go up to Akbarpur. The chief affluent of the Tons is the Majhai.

Thus, these rivers provided an excellent system of drainage in the _subah_ of Awadh during the medieval period. The system contributed in great measure to the growth of agriculture, and commerce; it also facilitated the develop-ment of towns and villages on the banks of the rivers. The towns like Lucknow, Awadh and Akbarpur etc. were ewtablished on the rivers of Gomti, Ghagra and Gandak. The rivers made considerable land rich for cultivation which gave rise to commercial and industrial activities.

Climate of the Region :

The climate of Awadh presents no features differing from that of northern India generally. About the climate of northern India Abul Fazal wrote:[1]

> During the rainy season which extend from the close of the sun's stay in the Gemni to his entry into the sign of virgo (middle of June to end of August), the elasticity of the atmosphere is enough to transport the most dispinited, and lend the vigour of youth to old age.

He further remarked:

> In the autumn and throughout the depths of winter the plains are green and tree in failiage.

The district of Lucknow is considerably hotter than the trans-Ghagra districts of Awadh, 'but the theromometer seldom

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1. _A'in-i Akbari_, English Tran. III, p. 7.

reaches the heights recorded in Allahabad and Bundelkhand.' However, the city of Lucknow itself is undoubtedly much hotter than other places in the district. Compared with western parts of the U.P. the winter in the subah is generally temperate.[1] The climate of sarkar Gorakhpur is not considered good for health.[2] In sarkar Khairabad the disease of cholera, owing to the bad quality of water, breaks out, causing heavy loss of life in the past. But the climate of western side of the subah is fine for health.[3]

In general the soil of the subah of Awadh is a light alluvial loam. "There are, as usual, many local variations the nature of the soil ranging from pure sand to a heavy clay. The best soil is known as loam or dumat, a comprehensive term which can be applied to a large variety of soils according to the proportion of sand. There are clay tracts caused by defective drainage, and are usually found round lakes and tanks, making the soil usar, unfit for any cultivation. The whole region consists of a level plain of a generally uniform character, and owing to the flatness of the land the rain is long running off. The subah is favoured with considerable heavy rainfall from the middle of June to the end of September.[4]

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1. District Gazetteer of the United Provinces, XXXVII, Lucknow, p. 15.
2. Ghulam Hazrat, Tarikh-i Gorakhpur, f. 1.
3. District Gazetteer of Khairi and Hardoi, p. 29, p. 15.
4. District Gazetteer of Lucknow, pp. 6,7,9,16; Eastern India, II, pp. 292, 296.

Regarding the rainfall in northern India. Babur has left a very interesting description:[1]

> Its air in the rain is very fine. Sometimes it rains 10, 15, 20 times a day; torrents pour down at once and rivers flood where no water had been. While it rains and through the rains the air is remarkably fine, not to be surpassed for healthiness and charms. The fault is that the air becomes very soft and damp. Not only in the rains but also in the cold and hot seasons, the air is excellent. At times, however, the north-west winds constantly gets up laden with dust and earth......The weather is not intolerable as in Balkh and Gandhar and not for half so long.

Some Dominant Castes and Classes:

In the absence of any statical data it is difficult to enumerate the number of inhabitants living in villages and towns of Awadh under the classified divisions of castes, creeds and callings in which they had been split up everywhere. This Census type study apart, it is not possible,

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1. Babur Nama, English Tran. by Beveridge, New Delhi, 1970, p. 579. Bernier's description of rains in northern India Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 431.

with the help of available evidence, to form even a perfunctionary estimate of the total population of the entire subah, showing its rise and fall throughout the period spanning from 1556 to 1724. However, contemporary source-materials provide information regarding racial composition and political behaviour of the most superior elements that constituted the higher strata of social structure. These sources also throw light on the nature of roles the land holders of various categories played in the long process of political and economic developments. A careful persual of chronicles suggests that there was a steady rise in the population as well as in the foundations of new towns, indicating conditions of peace and prosperity prevailing in the subah in the seventeenth century. The Ain-i Akbari furnishes lists of zamindar castes whose chiefs held zamindari rights in each sarkar. At the top of the social order stood the landed aristocracy which, hereditary and caste-ridden, possessed vast holdings, material resources and influence to become the nuclei of activities - political, social and economic -- in areas under their jurisdiction. These landlords and chiefs built small forts, kept armed retainers and gathered provisions for defence against attacks by the enemy's forces. By habit and tradition these warlike and resourceful chiefs hated imposition of authority and discipline, and generally resisted such economic policies and administrative methods of the government which threatened their hereditary privileges. When hard pressed, they rose in revolt and

rallied round them all the discontented elements -- the landless and jobless peasants and artisans -- in their massive operations of plunder and rapacity. If properly handled, these chiefs and *zamindars* proved strong instruments in enforcing law and order, collecting revenues and implementing imperial decrees. The Mughal Emperors tried to seek the cooperation of the loyal *zamindars* in the administrative affairs but reduced the power of those who chose to stay outside the imperial fold and enjoy their independence.

In this section an attempt is made to present a brief account of the racial composition of the *zamindar* castes inhabiting the region of Awadh and examine the pattern of their relationship with the imperial government.

The Bais Zamindars:

The Bais *zamindars* of Baiswara in Awadh had attained a position of importance on account of proportionately numerical superiority as well as immense holdings under their possession. Baiswara lies between Kanpur on the west, and the Sai river on the east, and between the Chinab rivulet on the south and Dikhtanan on the north.[1] The *faujdari* jurisdiction of Baiswara extended to contiguous areas in the

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1. Sir Henry M. Elliot, *Races of the North Western Provinces of India*, Vol. I, p. 13.

provinces of Awadh and Allahabad, and it included *mahals* which formed parts of the *sarkars* of Lucknow, Awadh, Manikpur and Korra. During the reign of Shah Jahan the *sarkar* of Lucknow and the district of Baiswara were placed under the charge of one *faujdar*.[1] Most of the *mahals* of Baiswara, mentioned in *Roshan Kalam*, belonged to the *sarkar* of Lucknow. But the *parganas* of Lucknow, Bijnaur and Kakuri lay outside the jurisdiction of the *faujdar*. The other *mahals*, given in this important work, which comprised the *faujdari* jurisdiction of Baiswara were Kanjura, Harra, Kheri, Bilhaur, Rai Bareli, Unao, Radauli, Uncha Gaon, Amethi, Dewi Manohargadh, Shiupur and Sitapur.[2] According to C.A. Elliot the Baiswara division included the districts of Rai Bareilly, Pertabgurh and Sultanpur with 21 *parganas*. The kings of Awadh had a seprate *nizamat* of Sultanpur and the Baiswara *nizamat* consisted of very little more tract than these 21 *parganas*.[3]

The Baises claim their descent from Salbahun, the mystic son of a snake who conquered the great Raja Bikramajeet of Ujjain and fixed his own era in 55 A.D. About 1250 the Gowtum Raja of Argul refused to pay tribute to the Lodi king

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1. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnamah*, ed. Maulvi Kabiruddin, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1867-68, Vol. I, pp. 243, 278; Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 146-47, 450-51.

2. *Insha'-i Roshan Kalam*, Aligarh Ms. *Arzdasht*, 1,4,6,11,13,32.

3. C.A. Elliot, *The Chronicles of Oonao*, Allahabad, 1862, pp. 67, 68.

of Delhi, and defeated the governor of Awadh who had sent a force against him. One Abhy Chand fixed his home in Doondea Khera, and the title and estate descended in an unbroken lime through seven generations to Tilokchand, the great eponymous hero of the clans, who are called after him Tilokchandi Baises. He lived about 1400 and extended the Bais domination over all the neighbouring area. In the ninth generation from Tilokchand about 1700, Rao Murdan Singh gained sufficient strength and recaptured the seven _pargana_s in the Unao district which had been lost to Baiswara since Tilokchand's days.[1] Tilokchandi Bais consider themselves for superior to all other Bais and prefer to marry their daughters with men belonging to tribes of high rank and position. The Tilokchandi Bais of Dundia Khera are subdivided into four clans of Rao, Raja, Naihatha and Sainbasi. These all profess to derive their rights from the Gautam Raja of Argal.[1] That the Bais was by far the strongest caste can be gauged from the fact that only in _sarkar_ Lucknow out of 55 _mahals_ the members of this clan held _zamindari_ rights of 20 _mahals_.[2] The Bais of _sarkar_ Awadh profess close racial and matrimonial connexion with the members of this caste living in Baiswara. According to Mr. Curnegy the local Baises are the indigenus Bhars who assumed the status of Bais after the Muslim conquest. W. Crooks is of the opinion

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1. _Races of the North Western Provinces of India_, Vol. I, pp. 13, 14, 15.
2. _Ain-i Akbari_,

that Bais of Faizabad district may have same admixture of indigenous blood and originated from Rajput clan.[1]

Numerous other castes of the Hindu Rajput *zamindars* -- Gandhariyas, Naipuriyas, Barwars and Chahus -- who had settled in *sarkars* of Gorakhpur and Awadh during the sixteenth century also claim their origin from the Bais clan. Mac Andrew writes:[2]

> These call themselves Tilokchandi Bais to distinguish them from the Kath Bais who are supposed to be the offspring of the real Bais by women of inferior caste. The Tilokchandi Bais will neither eat nor intermarry with them.

Sir H. M. Elliot states:

> Besides the Tilokchandi, there are said to be no less than three hundred and sixty subdivisions of Bais Rajputs, the descendants of as many wives of Salivahnu.

Throughout the medieval period their settlement had been the scene of turbulence and tension owing to the disputes between the Bais *zamindars* and *jagirdars* leading to the armed intervention by the local *faujdars*. For instance, Ra'd Andaz Khan

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1. *The Tribes and Castes of the North-western Provinces of India and Awadh*, Vol. I, p. 120.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

launched campaigns against the refractory zaindars of these places and after suppressing them he seized their cattle, property and forts and handed over to the agents of jagirdars in lieu of the unpaid land revenue. It was reported to him that the zamindar of Jajmau had employed Salim Afghan and on his instigation constructed a fort and named it as Salimgarh. The faujdar sent an army against the zamindar which inflicted defeat on the rebel forces, and Salim Khan Afghan was killed in the fighting.[1]

Bachgoti:

The Bachgoti Rajputs trace their origin from the Mainpuri Chauhans who, after the defeat of Prithivi Raj Chuhan fled eastward and settled at Jamwaman in the Sultanpur district. The names of their progenitors were four brothers Guge, Gage, Gautam, and Ravi. They are found in large numbers in Jaunpur and Gorakhpur and their two most important chiefs, Raja of Kurwar and the Diwan of Hasanpur Baudhwa who lived in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Bachgoti tribe was notorious for turbulence and mischief during the medieval period as there are several references about them in Tabkat-i Akbari and Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, and it appears that these recalcitrant Rajputs were suppressed by both the Afghans and the Mughals; same of them accepted the religion of the

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1. Insha'-i Roshan Kalam, Arzdashts, Nos. 3, 6.

conquerors. The Bilkharias, Rajwars and Raj Kumars are offshoots of the Bachgotis.[1]

Chauhan:

This tribe of Chauhan traces its origin from the neighbourhood of Sambhar and Ajmer. They are widely spread in the districts of Awadh, but chiefly in Baiswara, Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Akbarpur and Oonao.[2] They had settled in a tract of land, which lies south of Diktheana with the Poonwars, Bachilas, and Purihars, between it and the river Ganges.[3] The faujdar of Baiswara, Ra'd Andaz Khan, launched military operations against them and captured one of their strongholds at Kunjora, which no former general had dared to attack.[4] The Amethiya Rajputs found in Salempur Majhauli in the district of Gorakhpur belonged to a subdivision of Chauhans.[5] But their records provide no sufficient details to construct a connected and interesting history. The annals are, however, marked by mutual warfare among the zamindars of this warlike tribe.[6]

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1. Memoirs on the History, Folk-Lore, and Distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. I, pp. 48, 49. For details about the controversy on the origin of the Bachgoti tribe, Tribes and Castes of the North-western Provinces and Awadh, Vol. I, p. 93, District Gazetteer of Sultanpur, Vol. XLVI, p. 65.
2. Memoirs of the History, Folk-Lore and Distribution of the Races of the North-western Provinces of India, Vol.I,pp.63-9.
3. The Chronicles of Oonao, pp. 42, 43.
4. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, Arzdasht, No.
5. Memoirs of the History, Folk-Lore and Distribution of the Races of the North-western Provinces of India, Vol.I, p.7.
6. W.C.Benett, A Report on the Family History of the chief clans of the Roy Bareilley District, p. 33.

<u>Ahirs</u>:

This pastoral tribe of the Yadubansi stock is referred to in Ramayana and Mahabharat as Abhiras, and "in the Puranic Geography the country on the western coast of India, from the Tapti to Devagarh, is called Abhira, or the region of cowherds. The name of Asirgarh, the famous fort, is said to have been derived from Asa Ahir, indicating that the tribe enjoyed some status in the Deccan in the ancient period. The Ahirs are scattered over various towns and villages in Awadh, mainly in the districts of Gorakhpur and Mirzapur, all tracing their origin to Mathura.[1] In Akbar's reign they held <u>zamindari</u> in <u>sarkar</u> Khairabad.[2] They formed majority of population in the low-lying lands bordering on the Ghagra, where abundant pastrage afforded great facilities for carrying on their hereditary occupation of herdsmen.[3] The Ahirs follow the customs of Gujars and Jats in marriages and other aspects of social life, but the Rajputs generally repudicate all connection with them.[4]

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1. <u>Memoirs of the History, Folklore, and Distribution of the Races of the North-western Provinces of India</u>, Vol. I, pp. 2, 3.

2. <u>Ain-i Akbari</u>, Vol. II, p. 82.

3. <u>District Gazetteer of Barabanki</u>, p. 71.

4. <u>Memoirs of the History, Folklore and Distribution of the Races of the North-western Provinces of India</u>, Vol. I, pp. 4, 5.

Surajbansi:

The Surajbansi Rajputs claim their descent from Ram Chandra of Ajodhya, and enjoy high rank in the social scale among the Rajputs of Awadh. It is said that their ancestor, Bisram Singh, had migrated from Almora in 1376 A.D. and settled in Barabanki district.[1] During the reign of Akbar they held various *mahals* in Gorakhpur *sarkar*.[2]

Bisen:

A powerful tribe of Rajputs in the eastern parts of Awadh, the bulk of their population live in the districts of Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Azamgarh and Gorakhpur. The acknowledge chief of the Bisen stock was the Raja of Salempur Majhauli where the faimily of Mewar Bhal had settled.[3] They possessed vast holdings in the *sarkar* of Gorakhpur.[4] Crooks writes:[5]

> In the reign of Akbar and with the fall of the Kalhans rule, the Bisens, who subsequently under the Rajas of Gonda, took a leading position among the Trans-Ghagra powers appear for the first time on the stage of history.

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1. *The District Gazetteers of the United Provinces, Barabanki District*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 87.
2. *Ain-i Akbari*,
3. *Memoirs of the History, Folklore and Distribution of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India*, Vol. I, p.42.
4. *Ain-i Akbari*,
5. *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Awadh*, Vol. II, p. 117.

<u>Brahmans</u>:

Brahmans form the highest caste among the Hindus and are spread over nearly every *sarkar* of *subah* Awadh in large number. In the Mughal period they held *zamindari* rights in the parganas of Awadh, Buror, Anjmah, Laharpur in *sarkar* Khairabad, Ghutampur, Goranda, Lucknow and Hardoi.[1] Their majority lived in Gonda and Gorakhpur.[2] The learned among them professed religious laws, performed the duties of priests and worked as teachers and astrologers, while the illiterate carried out the profession of agriculture, money-lending and trade; the remainder depended on charity. They also included in their ranks soldiers and artisans. According to the author of *Mirat-ul Auza*, a considerable number of them either served and local *ta'lluqdars* or engaged themselves in learning and teaching in their own homes.[3] The important subdivisions of the Brahmans are Bajpai and Gaur who inhabit the towns in Awadh.

<u>Mahajans</u>:

The merchants and bankers belonging to various castes of the Hindus constituted this economically dominant class of capitalists in the urban areas of Awadh as in other provinces and parts of India during the Mughal period. Though deprived

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1. *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 80.
2. *District Gazetteer of Gonda*, p. 67.
3. Laljee, *Mirat-ul 'Auza*, f. 73a.

of any share in the exercise of political power, they weilded immense influence in the economic activities and developments of the country. It was the class which controlled the entire trade and commerce of the land, owned mercantile and banking houses and exercised virtual monopoly on the wholesole markets in every city. The merchants and bankers had developed on excellent system of credit, exchange and insurance on which rested the whole structure of financial transaction and on its smooth and efficient operation depended the commercial and industrial progress of the country. As great financers and public creditors they helped the official bureaucracy by making remittances of money and issuing letters of exchange (hundees). They gave money on interest to the jagirdars and landlords on security against the stipulated land revenue that had been assigned to them. Their skill and efficency in handling the financial transactions had greatly impressed Travenier who wrote:[1]

> All the Jews who occupy themselves with money and exchange in the empire of the Ground Seignier pass for being very sharp; but in India they would scarcely be apprentices to these chargers.

About this moneyed class the author of Mirat-ul 'Auzza comments:[2]

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1. Jean Baptist Tavernier, Travels in India, London, 1889, Vol. II, pp. 28-29.
2. Mirat-ul 'Auzza, f. 78b.

> Mahajans and cloth merchants are living in the nearly *parganas*, *mahals* villages and towns. Their financial dealings are mostly with *zamindars* and *ta'lluqdars*. They do not invest their capital in one single town above, but carry on trade and maintain businesshouses in every town, for they are afraid of raids by *ta'lluqdars* and robbers and oppression of the *amils* and *tahsildars*.

In the *A'in* the mahajans and merchants are not recorded as *zamindars* and landholders. But in the later period they acquired considerable lands in *zamindari* and extended their influence to the agricultural sector. For instance in the district of Lucknow, "at the time of the first regular settlement they only held 4,500 acres, chiefly in the *pargana* of Lucknow, Mohanlalganj and Malihabad. By 1896 they had gained largely in every *pargana* of the district and held altogether nearly 4,000 acres. In Mohanlalganj alone they had purchased over 4,700 acres at the expense of the smaller Musalman and Rajput properties."[2]

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1. *Mirat-ul 'Auza*, f. 78b.

2. *Lucknow Gazetteer*, Vol. XXXVII, 1922, p. 75.

<u>The Muslim Landholders</u>:

The most predominent class among the Muslims included in its ranks *jagirdars* and *ta'lluqdars* belonging to superior racial divisions -- such as Shaikhs, Saiyids, Ansaris, Afghans and Mughals -- of the Muslim population. They all traced this origin from foreign ancestory and maintaned traditions of social life distinct from the local inhabitants both Hindus and Muslims. They had imposed their authority by conquest and secured rights in the land through control over the military and bureaucratic appartus of the state. Their herditary occupation was fighting in which they had specialised by tradition and training alike; pursuit of peaceful professions like agriculture and commerce was opposed to their very nature and temperament. This class of military and civil officers formed the integral part of the *mansabdari* system to which every officer of the government was primarily recruited and graded according to the number of horsemen he was paid for. By the grant of land they were authorised to collect only the stipulated amount of money from the specific area through their own agents in conformity with the imperial rules and regulations. The central government had devised a number of measures to keep the assignees (*jagirdars*) under control and prevent them from creating vested interests in their land-holdings. The settlement of revenue was generally made with the *zamindars* who also undertook the responsibility

to collect the assessed revenue (hal-i hasil) from cultivators and remit the amount to the agents of the jagirdars (gumashtas and 'amils). The process of settlement and collection of revenue and other related matters involved hard bargaining which frequently gave rise to disputes between the zamindar and jagirdar. The zamindar often refused to perform the task of collection on the ground of heavy assessment, and if political circumstances favoured his cause, he would drive out the officers of the jagirdars and appropriate his share in the produce to himself. The jagirdar, being an imperial officer, sought the armed intervention of the government and spared no efforts in bringing the refractory zamindar (zor talab) to submission. On the nature of their relationship Manucci wrote[1]:

> Usually the viceroys and governors are in constant state of quarrel with the Hindu princes and zamindars with some because they wish to seize their lands; with others to force them to pay more money than is customary.

This clash of interest between the zamindar, a local leader, and the jagirdar, a representative of the government, caused tensions and conflicts in the countryside, weakening the

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1. Niccola Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, tr. W. Irvine, London 1907-8, 11, pp. 431, 432.

influence of the imperial authority as well as prospects of peace and normal development in the area. The land-revenue constituted the main source of income for the _jagirdar_, but he needed military force to support his claim to land. Military enforcements brought more than often success to the officer, but the policy of repression failed to solve the fundamental problem that was both economic and social; it rather created fresh complications which worsened the situation. Thus, owing to perpetual state of conflict between the _jagirdar_ and zamindar, no complete economic stability and political security could be achieved in the affected areas which ever remained scenes of turmoil and disturbances.

The _Shaikhs_ were the first settlers in the various towns of Awadh. Some of them claimed to be descended from the companions of Salar Masud, the youthful warrior saint, who had been sent by his uncle, Mahmud of Ghazni, to conquer the territory ruled by the Rajput chiefs and leaders of other warlike tribes. Then a century afterwards the invasion of Bakhtiyar Khalji occured in 1202, and in its wake came a large number of Musalmans who colonized some more places, and with the passage of time their number grew and prosperity increased. The Shaikhs had settled in Lucknow at a place called Lakhman Tila which later on became Lucknow, a name that was current prior to the days of Shaikhs of Juggaur settled in pargana Lucknow and colonized 52 villages on the

northside of the Gumti; and in the middle of the same century came the Shaikhs under Qazi Adam and began to live in Lucknow and its adjoining villages. About the close of the fifteenth century the followers of Shaikh Abdul Hasan Ansari proceeded towards the east and established their dwellings in Salempur which soon emerged as a flourishing town.[1] They were proportionately numerous in Lucknow, Kakuri, Hardoi, Ghazipur, Qannauj and several other districts of Awadh. Under Akbar they held _zamindari_ rights in Amethi, Ibrahimabad and Satrika,[2] but in the succeeding reigns the Shaikhs of various subdivisions - Qureshis, Ansaris, Siddiquis, Faruqis and Usmanis- emerged as the principal landholding class in other places, too. Their role in the political history of the _subah_ is generally unimportant, as they all restricted the area of activities to the affairs of their lands and seldom took interest in the issues relating to the rise and fall of dynasties and other political upheavals that characterised the history of the region. Like the Rajput chiefs and _zamindars_ the Shaikhs of Lucknow and Kakuri raised disturbances, ravaged the countryside and raided highways. In one letter

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1. _The District Gazetteer of Lucknow_, pp. 66, 141, 142, 143.
2. _A'in-i Akbari_,
3. _The District Gazetteer of Lucknow_, pp.

Rad Andaz Khan informed the royal court that the Shaiks had established their settlements but paid no dues to the government.[1] The Suffeepore or Saipore settlers were chiefly Osmani and Ansari Shaikhs.[2]

The Zaidi Saiyids who settled in the parganas of Bilgram, Khairabad and Fatehpur Huswa claim their descent from Saiyid Abul Furah of Wasit who along with his sons had joined the army of Shahbuddin of Ghur and after the conquest of Panjab and Delhi settled near Sirhind. Some time later his descendants proceeded towards the east and received sana for the zamindari and chaudhri of the above mentioned parganas as well as Oonao. Their settlements in this region sprang up as a result of grant system that operated in the medieval period to reward a meritorious service in the field of battle or meet the demands of the descendants of officials of the Delhi government. As landholders they improved their condition and acquired influence and prestige in the Muslim society by their contribution to the promotion of knowledge and culture.[3] Some members of the Saiyid families occupied key positions in the government, while others acted as Qazis and Muftis in the judiciary.[4] Their numerical strength and territorial possessions

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1. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, Arzdasht, Nos. 7, 8, 11, 15.
2. The Chronicles of Oonao, p. 94.
3. The Chronicles of Oonao, pp. 93, 94; Ain-i Akbari, II,p.
4. Mirat-ul-Auza, ff. 78, 79.

immensely increased under the rule of the Awadh governors and kings who belonged to the same religious sect which these Saiyids professed.[1]

<u>The Uzbek Revolt - 1564-1567</u>:

When the task of enforcing the imperial authority and establishing effective system of government was far from complete in the province of Awadh, the spectre of Uzbek revolt threatened the hard-won possession and challenged the very essence of Mughal despotism. The revolt that raged for nearly three years was a momentous event, and its repercussions were felt not only in northern India but also in Bihar and Bengal. It fully engaged the attention and energy of the king, and kept large troops with notable officers busy at the scene of strife and fighting. This deep involvement of the king and his troops obviously obstructed the execution of plans of expansion as well as the normal functioning of the state machinery. The leaders of the revolt were reputed warriors of the day who had distinguished themselves in all the battles, and shown, on every occasion, what stuff they were made of. They were closely related by the ties of blood and marriage and formed a powerful and cohesive

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1. <u>District Gazetteer of Lucknow</u>, p. 67.

clan-group. Ali Quli Khan,[1] the pivot of conspiracy, was the governor of Jaunpur, his brother Bahadur Khan was faujdar of Benares; his another relation Ibrahim Khan[2] held Surhurpur as jagir; 'Abdullah Khan was the governor of Malwa; and Sikandar Khan,[3] another relation held Awadh in jagir. Thus, Akbar had liberally rewarded these nobles for their meritorious services and regarded them as the chief architects of his empire. Arif

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1. Ali Quli Khan's father was Haider Sultan Uzbek Shaibani. In the battle of Jam he joined the Persians and attained the rank of an Amir. When Humayun returned from Persia, Haidar joined him, together with his two sons Ali Quli Khan and Bahadur Khan. In the battle of Panipat, he played an important role and received the title of Khan Zaman. He may justly claim to have restored the Mughal dynasty and may rank next to Bairam Khan in his services to the Mughal throne. He had the rank of 5,000 and was famous for his courage and vigour. He was responsible for establishing peace and tranquillity in the eastern provinces. But he revolted three times within the period of three years from 1563 to 1565 and was ultimately killed in a battle against Akbar in 1565. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 335; Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, pp. 622, 630.

2. Ibrahim Khan was uncle of Ali Quli Khan, Khan-i Zaman. He was an important officer of Humayun. Akbar granted him the pargana of Sarharpur near Jaunpur as jagir. He also revolted along with Iskandar Khan and Ali Quli Khan was killed in the battle-field, Iskandar Khan fled away towards Bengal,Ibrahim Khan, at Munim Khan's request was pardoned and remained with Munim Khan. He was commander of 2,500. The date of his death is not known.

3. Iskandar Khan was a decendant of the Uzbek kings. He returned conspicuous service to the Mughal cause under Humayun and obtained the title of Khan at the beginning of the expedition to India. He had the rank of 3,000. He fought against Hemu and received Awadh as tuyut. He also joined with Khan Zaman's rebellion. After the defeat of Khan-i Zaman, he fled into Bengal. At Munim Khan request, he was pardoned. He received the sarkar of Lucknow as tuyul, and died there in 1572. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 394; Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. I, pp.84-87.

Qandhari writes:

> The members of this clan had been given high promotions. They received such high honours and titles as Khan, Khan-i Zaman, etc., and were given the coveted _vilayats_ and _parganas_, of Jaunpur, Awadh, Sarwal and the whole of the east, of which every _vilayats_ had been the capital of the Sultans of Delhi.[1]

But these brave and competent nobles were dissatisfied with these rewards and honours, and cherished higher ambitious to capture the real seat of power.They hated working at far off places in the east where the constant fighting with the Afghans had become their inescapable lot. They viewed with envy the superior positions of other nobles, especially the Persians, who , without any previous record of outstanding service to their credit, controlled the whole machinery of government from the imperial court. Moreover, the fighting and campaigning did not always yield fruits proportionate to the degree of hardship and risk which they faced. The government demanded four-fifth of the spoils while the remainder one-fifth to the leader of expeditions, a practice universally resented by the warriors and soldiers.

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1. _Tarikh-i Akbari_, p. 32.

In 1561 Ali Quli Khan and his relations expressed their resentment against this unfair practice by withholding the king's share of the booty, and at the same time asserted their independence by establishing friendly contacts with the Afghan chiefs of Bihar and Bengal. Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the <u>hakim</u> of Malwa, was suspected of having entered into diplomatic alliance with Ghengiz Khan of Gujrat.[1] But Akbar, secure on the throne and elated with success, had lately developed a totally different attitude towards such clan-groups which were in a position to challenge his suzerain power. He held that there should be no dominant interest in the empire except the crown, no other authority but that of the soverign, and no will but his own. He pursued this object with perfect distinctness and resolution, and to serve his deliberate purpose he shrank from no arbitrary or violent excess. He was only watching for an opportunity to break the power of the nobles who were found wavering in their allegiance to him, and replace them by the more loyal elements in the nobility.

The disaffected nobles held deliberations and unanimously decided to raise the banner of revolt against the king. According to the plans adopted Sikandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan his brother Bahadur Khan invaded Kara Manikpur of which Majnu

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1. <u>Akbar Nama</u>, Vol. II, p. 377; <u>Tarikh-i Alfi</u>, f. 177; <u>Tarikh-i Akbari</u>, p. 85.

Khan Qaqshal was the governor. In the first battle with the imperial generals that took place near Ninkar in the modern district of Sitapur the combined rebel forces triumphed and their ranks swelled.[1] Then they advanced towards Manikpur, striking terror on the way, laid siege to the fort in which the governor had shut himself up. Informed of this crisis, Akbar promptly despatched troops from Agra under the commands of Asaf Khan and Munim Khan to the rescue of the beleagured governor, and himself proceeded to supervise the operations at the head of a powerful army. The news of his march upset the strategy of the rebels and caused confusion in their ranks; precipitable flight seemed the only safe course to them at the moment. Ali Quli Khan raised the seige of Manikpur and fled to Hajipur in Bihar, while other leaders ran away in different directions for shelter.[1]

The defeat, however, failed to crush their spirits and bring them to submission. They started plundering and ravaging the places, and at the sametime making the common cause with the king's enemies, like Sulaiman Karrani, ruler of Bengal and Fateh Khan, chief of Rohtasgarh. Akbar, who had reached Jaunpur on 13 July 1565, deputed Mui'z-ul Mulk against Sikandar and Bahadur and himself went to Allahabad to direct the expedition. The reatered from all sides, the rebels now lost hope of

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1. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, vol. II, p.76; Tarikh-i Alfi, f.177.

safety, and in order to gain time for a fresh offensive they responded to the overtures of peace offered by Mun'im Khan who pleaded for conciliation in the interest of the Empire. According to terms of agreement Ali Quli Khan was not to cross the Ganges and advance towards the imperial territory as long as Akbar was in Jaunpur while the offices and jagirs of the Uzbeks would be restored to them.[1] But Ali Quli Khan considered the settlement as only a truce which could be broken at some suitable opportunity. On 24 January 1566 he returned to Muhammadabad and sent troops to capture Ghazipur and Jaunpur. Perturbed by this unprovoked aggression Akbar left Benares for the defence of the place. At the approach of the imperial forces, Ali Quli Khan vacated Ghazipur, and having crossed the Ganges proceeded towards Bihar. Soon afterwards news came that Sikandar Khan and Bahadur Khan had made a surprise attack on Jaunpur and thoroughly sacked it. Akbar himself marched on Jaunpur and drove out the invaders. He, however, pardoned Ali Quli Khan and his comrades-in-arms at the intercession of Abdul Nabi Makhdum-ul Mulk and Murtaza Sharifi and returned to Agra on 3 March 1560. The main motive that prompted Akbar to forgive the crimes of Ali Quli Khan was the realisation that the rebellion could not be effectively quelled so long as its leader were in alliance with the Afghan chiefs, and the Afghan power could

1. Muntakhabut Tawarikh, Vol. II, p. 84; Iqbal Nama-i Jahangiri, Vol. II, p. 211.

not be destroyed unless a massive attack was successfully carried out against them, and as the opportune time had not reached for undertaking such a major enterprise he accepted the advice of his nobles in granting celemency to the inflexible Uzbeks. The king's act should not be misconstrued to imply that the royal authority was surrendered and the powerful rebels were allowed to enjoy independence in their huge estates where they had established their monopoly. It meant only suspension of hostilities for the time being, an adhoc measure to cope with a complicated situation.[1]

Towards the end of 1566, Mirza Hakim, driven out of Afghanistan by Mirza Suleman, the ruler of Badakhshan, came to the Panjab, and felt encouraged by the reports of Uzbek's rebellion in his bid to occupy the province. To cope with this new danger to his authority Akbar set out for Lahore on 17 November 1566. During his absence from Agra the sons and grandsons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, whose jagirs were concentrated in the upper Gangetic plains, raised the banner of revolt at Sambhal. The revolt was subsequently suppressed and Muhammad Sultan was imprisoned. But no further action was taken against the Mirzas; nor was any decision made to punish Ali Quli Khan, who had openly instigated and helped the rebels.[2]

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1. For details, Akbar Nama, II, pp. 265-268; Tarikh-i Akbari, II, pp. 193-195; Muntakhabut Tawarikh, II, pp. 82-84.
2. Muntakhabut-Tawarikh, vol. II, p. 94.

Mirza Hakim retired to Kabul by the end of January 1567, and Akbar, having made necessary arrangements for the military and revenue administration of the province returned to Agra. The Uzbek officers, who had fomented trouble in the east, now feared that Akbar would turn his attention towards them and punish them for their hostile conduct. Akbar could not tolerate their treasonable move of proclaiming Mirza Hakim as their king. The Uzbek leaders were not prepared to live in peace by giving up their aggressive designs. They broke one peace-pledge after another and one truce after another. Their war-like instincts goaded them to take up arms against the Emperor again and again, and undettered by the losses inflicted on them, they displayed persistent and dogged tenacity in every combat. Ali Quli Khan, who had spearheaded the revolt, was the most fearless and gallant warrior, possessed with organizing capacity and diplomatic skill of a high degree.

With a restless spirit and boundless ambition Ali Quli Khan would neither rest on his oars nor stick to his plighted word. He mustered a large army, and in consultation with his seasoned war veterans planned an attack on Jaunpur. They accordingly occupied the place, without delay or difficulty, and soon extended their sway from Awadh to Shergadh. Emboldened by success in the course of attacking and plundering places, the rebels made deep inroads into the Doab after crossing the Ganges near Kannauj. Bahadur Khan invaded Kara Manikpur

and besieged Majnu Khan Qaqshal and Asaf Khan there.[1] Akbar fully realized the gravity of the situation and started mobilizing his armies with a determination to exterminate the rebels and liquidate their bases of operations. He left the charge of Agra in the hands of Mun'im Khan,[2] who, confused and dismayed, made no suggestion for peace this time. On 26 May 1567 the Emperor set out for Kannauj and with rapid marches overtook the rebel forces, engaging them in a severe contest near Jhusi. Ali Quli Khan fought boldly but was killed in the battle. Bahadur Khan and several others were captured and put to death. Sikandar Khan was later on chased out of Awadh into Bihar where he took refuge with the Afghans.

Thus, the formidable revolt of the Uzbeks was completely suppressed; their clan-group torn up, root and branch, tranquility and imperial authority restored in the strife-stricken province of Awadh. Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas was made the governor of Awadh. Sikandar Khan could not pull on with Suleman

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1. Muntakhabut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, p. 94; Tarikh-i Akbari, pp. 97-9; Akbar Namah, Vol. II, p. 289; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Vol. II, p. 332; Tarikh-i Alfi, f. 194.

2. Munim Khan was one of the principal officer of Humayun's reign. His father's name was Bairam Beg. He was one of the leading nobles enjoying the rank of 5,000 and was the commander-in-chief of Emperor Akbar. He was skilled in the art of soldiery and made his mark both in the assembly and in battlefield. He was the Amir-ul Umara and commander-in-chief for forty years. In 1560 he was appointed to the office of Vakil and received the title of Khan-i Khanan. He had consolidated the Mughal rule in Awadh. He was then appointed governor of Bihar, and was ordered to follow Daud into Bengal and in 974 A.H./1571-72 died at Gaur. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. I, pp. 635, 645; Ain-i Akbari, Vol. I, pp. 333-34.

Khan of Bengal and submitted to Akbar in March 1572. He was forgiven and appointed *faujdar* of Lucknow. He died soon after.

The Era of Peace and Stability, 1605-1707:

The suppression of the Uzbek revolt marked the beginning of an era of peace and stability in the region of Awadh. During the seventeenth century the region witnessed no major revolts or large seale disturbances, nor was it affected by the consequences of unsettled conditions that prevailed in other parts of the empire. The few minor disorders raised by the *zamindars* and *jagirdars* were so insignificant in nature that they produced no impact on the life of the general public or the state machinery. The reasons for this long and unbroken spell of peace and tranquility enjoyed by the people of Awadh are not far to seek. In the first place, the example of Uzbek nobles served as an object lesson to the local powerful *zamindars* and *jagirdars*, and inspired awe and respect for the government in the general public. Secondly, soon after the liquidation of the Uzbek clan-group Akbar devoted his attention to the establishment of a strong and efficent administration based on the principles of check and balance and diffusion of authority among different functionaries posted in the province. The whole area was brought under the direct control and hegemony of the control government and affective checks were created to prevent concentration or misuse of authority by the officers.

where are details?

Regular transfers of governors and increase in the number of *faujdars* further enhanced the efficiency of the local government. Thirdly, in the conduct of political relations with the local *zamindars* and chiefs, Akbar showed great insight and magnanmity. He not only maintained their old privileges and social status, but also involved them in the working of the local administration. This liberal policy, supported by the strength of decision and action, ensured peace and achieved a degree of emotional identity with the established order.

During the reign of Jahangir, 1605-28, no major revolt took place in this eastern part of the empire. In 1615 one Chin Qulich Khan, the *jagirdar* of Jaunpur, augmented his economic resources by the oppressing the people. He organized an army and collected provisions in great quantity. He flouted imperial authority and rose into rebellion. At length the matter was reported to the Emperor who sent an *ahadi* to bring the rebel to the royal court. On his approach the *jagirdar* fled away; but was subsequently captured along with his brothers who had stirred the trouble. However, Chin Qulich Khan died on the way, and his money was distributed amongst the loyal soldiers.[1] Prince Khurram, in the course of his flight from the Deccan,

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1. For details, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, pp. 301-302.

entered Bihar, and from Patna he sent Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang towards Jaunpur with a large army, and himself started after sometime and reached Balia. He then marched on Allahabad and laid siege to it. Pressed hard by the imperialists, 'Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang raised the seige of the fort of Allahabad; Khurram left Jaunpur and proceeded towards Benares and pitched his camp at Bahadurpur. In the battle of Tons, fought on 26 October 1624, the rebel Prince was defeated with heavy losses and he withdrew to Bihar. It was only for a short time that Jaunpur became the scene of political activities, it, therefore, made no impact on the political or economic life of the region which continued to enjoy the fruits of peace and stability.[1]

The reign of Shahjahan, 1628-1659, witnessed several political revolts and disturbances but none of them occured in this region. The famous revolt of Khan Jahan Lodi took place in Bundelkhand, while the rebellion of Abdal affected the province of Allahabad. Even the tension and restlessness caused by Shahjahan's policy of assignment of zamindari lands to the Afghan nobles and other outsiders remained confined to the limits of the Kathar region, their impact did not spread beyond it into Awadh. It also escaped the turmoil and ravages caused by the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan.

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1. For details, Mirza Nathan, Baharistan-i Ghaibi, vol. II, pp. 726-776.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, 1659-1707, the district of Mathura and the towns of Bundelkhand came in the grip of rebellions and disturbances. However, the province saw a series of minor revolts raised by the zamindars and jagirdars on the issue of land revenue and other agrarian disputes. These economic problems caused discontentment among the land-holders of various categories and they, driven to despair, took up arms and stirred trouble in the countryside. The incessant warfare which Aurangzeb waged in the Deccan involved a tremendous expenditure and to meet it the government put pressure on the landholders for collection of money. When they failed to satisfy the demands of the government coercion was resorted to and a situation arose in which clash of arms between the imperial forces and the landholders became inevitable. There are various instances of such revolts organized on this account. But at the same time there are cases on record in which the land-holders taking advantage of the unsettled conditions in the region or the absence of the imperial troops, started disturbances and indulged in plunder and seizure of wealth and lands belonging to the weak and helpless zamindars and peasants.

In 1694 an Afghan named Muhammad Baji raised the banner of rebellion in Ghazipur. When the Emperor was informed of his activities he ordered the local faujdar Muhammad Rafi to punish the rebel. He had plundered and oppressed the peasants and

other helpless persons. After the death of Shaikh Muhammad Ghani, faujdar of Zamaniya, in 1699, the zamindars of the area stirred disturbances. They attacked the house of Shaikh Muhammad Ghani and looted it. But the prompt action taken by the local army officers saved the situation and peace and order were restored. Muhabbat, a zamindar of Jaunpur rose in rebellion in 1703. Upon the failure of the faujdar to suppress the rebellion the Emperor directed Sipahdar Khan, the subedar requested that he should be given the faujdari of the place which would strengthen his position to deal sternly with the hostile elements of the area. His request was conceded to and the subedar soon succeeded in subduing the rebel.[1]

The Period of Isolation, 1707-1724:

The political history of the subah of Awadh between the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 and appointment of Sa'adat Khan Burhan-ul Mulk to its subedari in 1724 is uneventful and unmoving. Its study is unfruitful, too, as very scanty information of events and occurances is contained in the contemporary chronicles and records, while the local histories begin only with the period of Sa'adat Khan, throwing no light on the actions and deeds of his predecessors. In fact, the

1. Akhbarat, Royal Asiatic Society Collection, Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 286-287.

province had for long ceased to be the centre of political activities,and after the death of Aurangzeb it further receded into isolation and obscurity. The inactivity and quietude that characterised the history of this region during the years,1707-1724, excited little interest of chroniclers who sought to survey the political situation of the Empire from Delhi and the capital cities of different provinces,.In the early eighteenth century other provinces of this region like Agra and Allahabad assumed greater importance owing to the recurrence of revolts and disturbances which called forth the central government to remain constantly involved in their military and administrative affairs. However, the subah of Awadh remained free from the horrors and ravages of the Maratha inroads and foreign invasions, and consequently it continued to enjoy peace and tranquility throughout the period under discussion.

Bahadur Shah,[1] the eldest son of Aurangzeb gained

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1. His original name was Muhammad Mu'azzam and was born on 14 October 1643. After the death of Amir Khan, he was appointed governor of Kabul, and got the title of Shah Alam. In 44 regnal year he received the governorship of Lahore. He was at Jamrud, 12 miles west of Peshawar, when he received the news of his father's death. He immediately proceeded to Lahore where Mu'in Khan,deputy-governor of the province welcomed him and presented Rs.40 lakhs and a well-organized army of 5,000 horsemen. It was at Lahore that he formally proclaimed himself the Emperor of India with the title of Bahadur Shah. For details, see, Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 153; Muntakhab-ul Lubab, II, 576-78.

decisive victory over his brother Azam Shah[1] in the battle of succession fought on 18 June 1707 at Jayis and ascended the throne, proclaiming his suzerainty over the whole Empire.[2] The governors and high-ranking mansabdars either came to attend the court or presented nazrana as token of submission through their wakils. Chin Qulich Khan,[3] who had along with other Turani nobles stayed back in the Deccan and stood aloof from fighting among the rival claimants to the crown, lost no time in felicitating the new Emperor by sending a nazar of one hundred gold coins together with an arzdasht, full of praise for the king and his own loyalty to him. The Emperor appointed him the governor of Awadh, 9 December 1707, and raised his rank to 6,000/6,000 with the title of Khan-i-Dauran. His promotion to

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1. He was the second surviving son of Aurangzeb. He was born of Dilras Banu Begam on 9 July 1653. Shortly before his death, Aurangzeb had appointed him governor of Malwa. He reluctantly left Ahmadnagar on 22 February 1707, and had hardly gone 40 miles when news of his father's death was conveyedtto him. He forthwith returned to the imperial camp. After funeral ceremonies were over, A'zam Shah ascended the throne on 16 March 1707 and hastily marched towards north to capture the cities of Agra and Delhi. For details, Kamraj bin Nain Singh, A'zam-ul Harb, pp. 65,107,109.

2. For details of the battle and subsequent events, William Irvine, Later Mughals, Part I, pp. 22-36.

3. His original name was Mir Qamr-ud-din, and he was born in 1671. His grandfather 'Abid Khan, son of Alam Shaikh was an important man of Samarqand, and a descendant of Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardy. Abid Khan came to India during the reign of Shah Jahan, and rose to the position of Sadr-us Sadur with the rank of 4,000 in the reign of Aurangzeb. In the seize operations at Golkonda he died of a c

(continued on next page.......)

a higher position and status was in no way a reward for any services rendered by this Turani noble in the battle of succession but the result of a conciliatory policy Bahadur Shah had adopted towards all sections of nobility, including the adherents of his vanquished foe. Though Chin Qulich Khan had dutifully assumed the charge of his new office and earnestly started devising measures to improve the administrative and economic conditions of the province, he soon afterwards gave up the job and resigned on the pretext of indisposition. On the plea of Mun'im Khan, the wazir, he, however, withdrew the resignation and went on performing routine work for some time more. When his father Ghazi-uddin Khan, governor of Gujarat, died on 8 December 1810 and all his property and treasure were escheated, he finally relinguished his office, 6 February 1711, renounced the mansab and title, and returned to Delhi where he retired into seculsion.[1]

Footnote continue from previous page......

on 29 January 1687. His son Mir Shahb-ud-din also won laurels in the Deccan and received the title of Ghazi-ud-din Khan. His eldest son Mir Qamr-ud-din received the title of Chin Qulich Khan in 1690-1. At the time of Aurangzeb's death he was governor of Bijapur. For details, Ma'asir-ul Umara, III, pp. 837-848; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, 242, 249, 259, 340.

1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, pp. 663, 665, 674; Akhbarat-i-Darbar Mualla, f. 77b; Later Mughals, I, p. 271.

Contemporary historians have ascribed different reasons which led to his resignation from the governorship of Awadh. According to Khafi Khan the appointment of Chin Qulich Khan to the _subedari_ of Awadh was not commensurate with the proven ability and rich experience he possessed. The Emperor failed to recognize the merits and importance of the Turni nobles who had served the Mughal government under Aurangzeb with devotion and distinction.[1] The author of _Tarikh-i Hindi_ asserts that the main reason responsible for the resignation of Chin Qulich Khan was the unproductivity and barrenness of land which he declared all thorny and desolate.[2] But both the statements are open to criticism. In the first place, the transfer of Chin Qulich Khan from Bijapur to Awadh with an increase in his _mansab_ was undoubtedly an elevation, rather than demotion, to a higher position and status. Moreover, the province of Awadh was larger in size and population, enormously productive in agriculture, and flourshing in trade and commerce. A long and unbroken period of peace and tranquility had further contributed to the strength and stability of the imperial administration in the area. Secondly, the province of Gujarat and the district of Muradabad

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1. _Muntakhab-ul Lubab_, II, pp. 665, 674.

2. Rustum Ali Khan, _Tarikh-i Hindi_, p. 426.

to which Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firoz Jang[1] and Muhammad Amin Khan[2] had been transferred as governor and faujdar respectively were by no means unimportant and unprofitable places, either politically or economically.

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1. His original name was Mir Shahabud-din, and he was bron at Samarqand about the year 1649-50, and at the age of 19 years came to India with his father, Khwaja Abid during the reign of Aurangzeb. He received the rank of 300/70. The Emperor conferred on him the title of Khan, in recognition of his remarkable service in the military operations against the Rana of Udaipur . He took part in all the campaigns and fightings in the Deccan for 25 years. He conquered Ibrahim Yadgiri; was conspicuous in the taking of Haiderabad. Adoni also fell before him, he later on captured Deogarh. In the 48 regnal year he pursued the Marathas in to Malwa. At the time of Aurangzeb's death in 1707 he was at Elichpur, in charge of the subah of Berar. But for the last twenty years he had become totally blind, though he commanded armies and conducted the administrative affairs most vigorously and efficiently. "He was an exceptionally gifted among the Turani nobles, good natured, dignified, fortunate in war and an excellent administrator." Ma'asir-ul Umara, II, p. 441; Later Mughals, I, p. 270.

2. He was the son of Mir Baha-ud-din, son of Alam Shaikh, grandfather of Chin Qulich Khan Khan-i Dauran, the governor of Awadh. In the 31 regnal year of Aurangzeb he came to India from his homeland , Samarqand, and entered the imperial service. He obtained the rank of 2,000/1,000 and the title of Khan. He also played a conspicuous role in the campaigns in the Deccan and won distinction as a brave general. In the 42 regnal year he was appointed to the office of sadarat-i-Kul, but was deputed from time to time to lead the imperial armies against the Marathas and the local refractory zamindars In the 51 year he received an increase of 300 horse and the title of Chin Bahadur. At the time of Aurangzeb's death he was serving under Sultan Kam Bakhsh in the battles of succession. When Bahadur Shah came to the Deccan Muhammad Amin Khan joined him, and received the faujdari of Muradabad as a reward for his good services. For details, Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, pp. 346-350.

But the fact of the matter is that what Chin Qulich Khan had resented most was his own removal and that of his father and uncle from the Deccan, presumabily made on the suggestion of Zulfiqar Khan[1] who wanted to rule it without facing the opposition of the strong faction of the Turani nobles. His was the immediate and spoutaneous reaction against this measure of the government which he considered improper and unreasonable. His heart lay in the Deccan where he and his family members had built up their careers and which held better prospects under the given circumstances for the achievement of higher goals they had long before set for themselves. As an alternative, his second choice would have been the ministership at the centre that could also give him an opportunity to use his trained talents to ultimately reach the pinnacle of power.

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1. His name was Muhammad Ismail, and was born in 1657; his mother, Mihr-un-nissa Begam, was the daughter of Asaf Khan Yamin-ud-Daulah. His father Asad Khan had served under Aurangzeb first as second _bakhshi_, then deputy _wazir_ and finnally became _wazir_ in 1676. Zulfiqar Khan married the daughter of Shaista Khan, the Amir-ul-Umara. In 1689 the title of Zulfiqar Khan was bestowed on him as a reward for the capture of the fort of Raheri along with the family of Sambhaji. In 1698 he took the Maratha stronghold of Jinji and was made Nusrut Jang; and in 1702 he succeeded Bahramand Khan as _Mir Bakhshi_. He and his father Asad Khan, after the death of Aurangzeb, threw in their lot with A'zam Shah in the war of succession. But Bahadur Shah showed extraordinary favours and kindness to Zulfiqar Khan, raising his _mansab_ to 7,000/7,000, with the titles of Samsam-ud-Daulah Amir-ul-Umara Bahadur Nusrat Jang. He was appointed governor of the six _subahs_ of the Deccan, in addition to the post of the Mir _Bakhshi_. These favours showered on him by the Emperor excited the jealousy of the Turani nobles, particularly Chin Qulich Khan. For details, _Ma'asir-ul-Umara_, Vol. II, pp. 93-106; _Ma'asir-i Alamgiri_, pp. 71, 282.

It appears that Sarbuland Khan[1] was appointed to the *subedari* of Awadh and *faujdari* of Gorakhpur in 1713 by Farrukh Siyar.[2] His tenure was as short and devoid of any achievements as that of his predecessor. He was soon afterwards transferred to Allahabad and the administration of Awadh was put under the

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1. His name was Mir Muhammad Rafi, and his homeland Tun in Iran. He came to India with his father in the reign of Aurangzeb who appointed the latter *diwan* of Gwalior. Mir Muhammad Rafi married the daughter of Ruhullah Khan Bakhshi, whose another daughter had been married to Prince Azim-ush-shan, son of Bahadur Shah. During the reign of Bahadur Shah he received the title of Sarbuland Khan and the governorship of Awadh. *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, pp. 801-806.

2. Muhammad Farrikh Siyar, the second son of 'Azim-ush-shan, was born at Aurangabad in the Deccan on 11 September 1683. He passed most of his time in Bengal with his father who was its governor. When Aurangzeb died Azim-ush-shan marched towards Agra to support his father, Bahadur Shah, in the impending war of succession, and since then he remained at the imperial headquarters; performing various functions assigned to him. His father's death on 27 February 1712 was followed by another war of succession in which 'Azim-ush-shan was defeated and killed. The tragedy was reported to Farrukh Siyar, now at Patna, on 6 April 1712. Though he possessed no strong army and no resources, the prince proclaimed his succession to the Empire, issuing coins and causing the *khutba* to be read in his own name. Having enlisted the support of the Saiyids of Barha -- Husain Ali Khan and Hasan Ali Khan, and gathered a large army with their help, Farrukh Siyar set out from Patna, and marching through Benares and Allahabad reached near Agra to challenge Jahandar Shah, the reigning monarch. In the severe and swift battle faught on 10 January 1713 near Agra Farrukh Siyar defeated Jahandar Shah and routed his army. On 12 January Farrukh Siyar held the ceremony of his formal enthronement, and after a month, 10 February 1713 he reached Delhi. He was deposed by the Saiyid brothers on 28 February 1719. For details, *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 108-245.

charge of their Musharraf, a mansabdar of 5,000. Sarbuland Khan did not stay for long in Allahabad as he was made the governor of Kabul in 1719 ; Chabella Ram Nagar,[1] governor of Agra was sent to take charge of Allahabad. After the deposition and death of Farrukh Siyar Chabella Ram raised the banner of revolt against the Saiyid brothers and resisted all attempts of the imperial forces to capture the fort of Allahabad. But a he died in November 1719 when the fate of war still hung in balance. His nephew, Girdhar Bahadur,[2] who had secretly escaped from the prison in Delhi and reached Allahabad, took up the command of his deceased uncle's forces and kept up the struggle till the Saiyid

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1. Mahta Chabela Ram was a Nagar Brahaman of Agra whose family had emigrated long before from Gujarat and settled in this city. He along with his brother Daya Ram entered the imperial service and they were patronised by 'Azim-ush-Shan. Daya Ram Bahadur was killed, fighting on the side of his patron, in the battle of succession at Lahore. Chabela Ram was faujdar of Chakla Karra Manikpur when Farrukh Siyar proclaimed his accession to the royal throne. Chabela Ram espaused the cause of his patron's son. He was loyal to Farrukh Siyar and a brave soldier, too; he was appointed governor of Agra his birthplace, but after same time sent to Allahabad. Later Mughals, I, pp. 215, 231, 233, 262.

2. Girdhar Bahadur was the son of Daya Ram, a khanazad noble, who had died in the battle of Lahore in 1712, fighting for 'Azim-ush-shan. Girdhar Bahadur had been summoned to Delhi just before Farrukh Siyar's removal from the throne. There he was placed under confinement, but he bribed his guards and fled away to join his uncle Chabela Ram at Allahabad. Later Mughals, II, p. 7.

brothers[1] were compeled to make compromise with him. According to the terms of compromise Girdhar Bahadur was offered the government of Awadh with all the divisions (*sarkars*) dependent thereon, and the right to appoint all the military and civil subordinate officers -- the *faujdars* and *diwans* --; a gift of 30 lakhs of rupees, payable from the Bengal treasure remittance, was also promised, together with a jewelled turban ornament, a special dress of honour and an elephant from the Emperor. The settlement between the parties was reached on 3 May 1720. Girdhar Bahadur accepted the terms and marched out of the fort on 11 May 1720 with all his family and treasure to take charge of the *subedari* of Awadh and *faujdari* of Gorakhpur. These special concessions were granted to Girdhar Bahadur in view of the political situation confronting the Saiyid brothers at that time. On the one hand opposition to their rule was growing strong and sharp, and on the other a cleavage in the relationship between the two brothers had appeared. The demand of Girdhar Bahadur for the *faujdari* of all the *sarkars* of the *subah* of Awadh was just and reasonable as his predecessors for want of these powers had failed in the past in keeping the *jagirdars* under

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1. The two Saiyid brothers, known in history as king-makers, were Saiyid Husain Ali Khan, deputy-*subedar* of Bihar and Hasan Ali Khan, governor of Allahabad. The belonged to the Barha clan of the Saiyids who claimed their descent from Abul Farha of Wasit in Mesopotamia. Their father, Saiyid Abdullah Khan, known as Saiyid Mian, had served as *subedar* of Bijapur and Golconda.

control and enforcing the imperial laws in the area, so well-affirmed by the experiences of Ra'ad Andaz Khan.[1]

The tenure of Girdhar Bahadur covers only a period of three years, 1720-1723, but no information is available to sketch even the outline history of this period. Judged from the character and personality of Girdhar Bahadur, as revealed in his struggle against the Marathas and self-sacrifice in the imperial cause in Malwa, it may be surmised that he should have successfully maintained imperial authority and augmented economic resources in Awadh during his long term of office. In 1723 he was transferred to Malwa to deal with the Maratha menance that was threatening the integrity of the Mughal rule in the whole area south of Chambal. Awadh was placed under the charge of Sa'adat Khan Burhan-ul Mulk.[2] who continued to hold it till his death in 1739.

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1. Balmukand Namah, letter No. 4, p. 8; Shiv Das, Shah Namah-i Munawwar-ul Kalam, f. 35b.

2. His name was Muhammad Amin, son of Mirza Muhammad Nasir who had migrated from his native town, Nishapur, to India during the reign of Bahadur Shah. He was favoured by Husain Ali Khan who appointed him faujdar of Hindaun and Bianor. But in the conflict between Muhammad Shah and the Saiyid brothers, he, inspired by personal motives, sided with the former, and later on was rewarded for his defection by the Emperor first with the subedari of Agra and then of Awadh. His rank was raised to 7,000/7,000 and the title of Burhan-ul Mulk was conferred on him. For details, A.L. Srivastava, The First two Nawabs of Awadh, pp. 1-32.

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The administrative structure, as established by Akbar in Awadh about the year 1580, closely resembled with that operating in other provinces of the Empire. The character, strength, and powers and functions of provincial bureaucracy bore profound similarity every where; and a uniform pattern governed the well-defind scope not only of their mutual relations but also with the Central government. Any dissimilarities and aberrations that developed in the working of this well-organised administrative system were partly due to the unique geographical conditions -- size of territory, climate, soil --, strategical importance and local socio-economic problems of a particular province, and partly due to the character and attitudes of its supreme executive head, i.e. the governor. Prior to its organization into a separate *subah*, Awadh was an appanage of the province of Jaunpur, administered by a governor. During the first decade of Akbar's reign Ali Quli Khan, 1558, and Mun'im Khan, 1567, governed Awadh as *subedar* of Jaunpur.[1] Nevertheless, Awadh was treated as a distinct territorial division, and its regular administration was placed in the hands of officers directly

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II, p. 425.

appointed by the Centre. During this period of experimentation Awadh thus became not only a territorial concept but it also steadily acquired the status of a minor province without a seprate governor of its own. This assumption is based on the list of officers serving in Awadh in the year 1570 as given by the author of *Tarikh-i Humayun wa Akbar*. For instance, Shah Mansur served as the *Diwan*, Bayazid Beg as the *mir-i mal* while Ali Quli was appointed the *Mir-i Saman*, Khwaja Dost Muhammad, the *bakhshi*, Mir Faridun the *sadr*. Later on Dost Muhammad was transferred to Bengal and Shah Mansur was appointed *Bakhshi* and Khwaja Ghiasuddin was conferred with the *Diwani*.

It was during the reign of Akbar that the administrative system of *subah* Awadh was placed on permanent footing, and in subsequent reigns very few changes were made in its structure and form. As a result of perfect and efficient administration, peace and tranquality prevailed, and progress and constructive work followed in the right direction. The object of this chapter is to study the various aspects of this system in the context of historical process. It also involves a discussion of the nature of relationship between the provincial and Central Governments.

The Subehdar:

The *subehdar*, or the governor of a province was the supreme executive head, variously styled as *hakim*, *sahib-i subah*,

nazim, *sipahsalar*.[1] He was appointed by an imperial *farman*, called *Farman-i Shahi*, which laid down bread guidelines and directives for him to conduct the administration of the *subah*.[2] "The provincial governors were generally appointed from amongst officers, holding the highest ranks or *mansabs*. It can be said that they formed, at any time, the hard core of the ruling bureaucracy."[3] The *subehdar* was the king-pin of the Mughal administration and military control in the province. He was the deputy of the Emperor in his *subah*. Regarding the position, powers and functions of the *subehdar* Abul Fazl aptly remarks,

> "He is the vicegerent of His Majesty. The troops and people of the provinces are under his orders and their welfare depends upon his just administration. He must never lay aside the consideration of the people's prosperity nor suffer his zeal to sleep.... He should regard his office of command as that of a guardian."[4]

His main responsibility was to strive for the maximum welfare of the people by maintaining law and order and protecting the

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1. *Ain-i Akbari*, I, p. 252.
2. *Diwani-Pasand*, f. 86, *Ain*, I, p. 152, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, I, pp. 357-58; *Provincial Government Under the Mughals*, p.176.
3. "Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb - An Analysis", *Medieval India - A Miscellany*, Vol. I, p. 96.
4. *Ain-i Akbari*, II, Eng. Tr. , p. 37.

weak against the oppression of the strong. 'People's prosperity was the ultimate phoenix to which he should direct all his efforts and energies.[1] The yardstick to assess the measure of his success and his abiding contribution to progress of the province and its inhabitants related should be the degree of happiness and contentment which the people enjoyed during his rule. He was also entrusted with judicial functions. Both in investigation and adjudication he was required to act with sagocity and firmness. At the same time, he was urged not to interfere in the religious affairs of those on whom he had been called upon to rule. This order was in confirmity with the religious policy which Akbar was striving to pursue throughout the Empire.[2]

One of the most important instructions given to the <u>subedar</u> related to the "Increase of agriculture and the flourishing condition of the land and "the befriending of the agriculturists as an excellent service to Almighty." "He should retain impartial collectors of revenue and from time to time obtain 'information regarding their actions." It adds, "Let him store for himself a godly reward in the making of reservoirs, wells, water-courses, gardens, <u>sarais</u>, and other pious foundations and set about the repairing of what has fallen into ruin."[3]

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1. <u>Ain-i Akbari</u>, Eng. Tr. II, pp. 37-38, 41.
2. <u>Ain-i Akbari</u>, Eng. Tr. II, pp. 38-39, 41.
3. <u>Ain-i Akbari</u>, II, pp. 39-40.

The exhortation to the subehdar to tend to the care of the agriculturists and peasants in the Ain is a pointer to an important aspect of his duties to take steps to boast agriculture and improve the condition of the peasantry on whom depended the prosperity of the country. Irrigation works enumerated above were really the sustainer of agriculture in a country dependent upon precavious rainfall. These were acts of public weal and their performance was the bounden duty of the subehdar.[1] The Ain further enjoins upon the subehdar to maintain the scholars, mystics, mendicants etc. with sufficient provisions. This was both a philanthropic as well as pragmatic gesture to keep them contented with grants and allowances and utilise their services for creating pockets of influence to support and serve the imperial interests. Detailed instructions were also issued to ensure the safety of the roads and highways. These measures, if followed in the letter and spirit would render the Empire a welfare state, augment its resources, enhance its prestige and keep the ruler and the ruled happy and contented.[2]

When Akbar set to organise the provincial administration after 1580, the first subehdar appointed to Awadh was Wazir Khan.[3] Soon afterwards Akbar tried the experiment of

1. Ain-i Akbari, II, pp. 39-40.

2. Ain-i Akbari, II, pp. 39-40.

3. Ain-i Akbari, (Bloch.) Vol. I, p. 380.

appointing two *subehdars* for each *subah* and therefore Fateh Khan and Qasim Khan were appointed jointly *subehdars* of Awadh in 1587.[1] But the experiment failed as devolution of power to two authorities jointly in one *subah* was bound to create misgivings and invite trouble. As in obvious, the *subehdar* was the highest dignitary and deputy of the emperor in the *subah* and enjoyed a very high rank and position in the Mughal peerage. The rank of the *subehdars* of Awadh differed widely during the various reigns of the emperors. While a *subehdar* named Abul Muzaffar held the rank of 500/500,[2] an incumbent to this post during Aurangzeb's reign, Askar Khan Hydrabadi enjoyed the rank of 6000/2500.[3] This also represents the lowest and the highest ranks enjoyed by various *subehdars* of Awadh.

One important feature of the *subah* administration, particularly from Shahjahan's reign was the introduction of the system of confirment of the *faujdari* of Gorakhpur to the *subehdar* of Awadh. This practice became more manifest during Aurangzeb's reign where the *subedar* of Awadh was also customarily given the charge of the *faujdari* of Gorakhpur and was also assigned the *jagirdari* of that *sarkar*. This unique feature

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1. *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. I, p.518; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, Vol.III,p.60.
2. *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 423.
3. *Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla*, 38/106, 38/125; *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, p. 369.

calls for an explanation. Various factors were responsible for the introduction of this measure. Obviously, the additional charge was by no means a source of income to the governor, as Gorakhpur, being unproductive and barren, yielded no produce. It rather added to the burden of his responsibilities. The _sarkar_ of Gorakhpur was mostly covered with jungles which provided hide-ants to the rebels and the robbers. It, therefore added to the burden of the _subehdar_ in managing the _sarkar_ efficiently. But from the imperial point of view the _faujdari_ of Gorakhpur occupied a strategic position. When Gorakhpur was assigned to the _subehdar_ of Awadh as his _jagir_ and its _faujdari_ as its appanage, he would try his utmost to quell the rebellions in the _sarkar_, to keep it well-managed, increase its productivity and keep the rebellious _zamindars_ of the region under his subjugation. Then again, Gorakhpur was contiguous to the _subah_ of Bihar. So,in times of need the _subehdar_ of Awadh could march with his contingents from Gorakhpur to quell any rebellion or insurgence in Bihar or Bengal that might threaten the unity and integrety of the empire, in such cases his deputy performing the administrative functions. In this way the appointment to the _faujdari_ of the _sarkar_ of Gorakhpur was to serve twofold objectives, namely, subjugating the region of Gorakhpur as well as providing reinforcement to the imperial authorities in Bihar and Bengal which were of great economic and strategic importance to the Empire. The _faujdar_ of the _sarkar_ of Gorakhpur would also provide the _subehdar_ of Awadh with opportunities of developing the region, reclaiming

waste land and enhancing the revenue resources of the region.

The importance of the *subehdari* of Awadh combined with the *faujdari* of Gorakhpur assumed great importance during the War of Succession among Shahjahan's sons. With Awadh firmly under his hold, Aurangzeb could frustrate the designs of both Dara Shikoh and Shah Shujah. During this war, Aurangzeb conferred upon Iradat Khan the *subehdari* of Awadh and with the enormous resources of Awadh sent him in hot pursuite of Dara Shikoh who was marching through from Multan to the desert of Thatta so as to give him no respite to reorganize his scattered troops to contest the throne. In the meantime news was received that Shah Shujah had advanced as far as Patna to contest the throne with Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb at once appointed Fedai Khan to the *subehdari* of Awadh with the rank of 4000/4000 and ordered him to march against Shah Shujah to defeat and suppress him.[1] It would thus seem that the *subehdar* of Awadh would always be of immense importance to the emperor to serve the larger interest of the empire for which he was fully equipped with the resources of Awadh both in money and men and was in a position of vantage to render his full contribution to the imperial cause. Awadh was also a famous recruiting centre where hundreds of soldiers

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1. *Alamgirnamah*, Vol. I, pp. 127, 202; Hatim Khan, *Alamgirnamah*, p. 38b; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, vol. I, p. 204; *Waqait-i Alamgiri*, pp. 98, 100.

were enrolled in the imperial service and regularly sent to the head-quarters on instructions from the Emperor. For example, according to royal order Zabardast Khan recruited five hundred soldiers on 3rd August 1700 for the army and the diwan of the subah was accordingly directed to pay ten thousand rupees from the treasury for the purpose.[1]

The governor of Awadh was authorised to like governors of other provinces, to recommend conferment or transfer of zamindari rights to the Central government. He was not entitled to transfer or bestow zamindari at his own will without the prior sanction of the government. Zabardast Khan, the subehdar and Abul Hasan, the diwan of the subah, had recommended that the zamindari of the pargana of Jahangirabad be transferred from Mohammad Sharif to Mohammad Nazib and the latter be given rank of 150/50 on the stipulation that he would pay five thousand rupees as peshkash.[2]

Diwan:

The office of the diwan in a subah was next in important to the Nazim or subehdar. The diwan was incharge of the revenue and finance department in the province. He was appointed by the

1. Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla, 44/169.

2. Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla, 44/142.

Emperor on the recommendation of diwan-i ala or the wazir, and discharged his duties independent of the governor.

Akbar had tried some experiments in the evolution of the administration of the khalisa and madad-i ma'ash land grants during the years, 1583-1596. In 1583 he appointed four officials to supervise the functioning of the khalisa lands.[1] In 1592 the whole of the khalisa land of the Empire was divided into four fiscal units, each placed under a financial expert for supervision and control.[2] Consequently, in 1596 the practice of appointing a diwan to each of the subahs was introduced, and Kunwar was appointed as the diwan of Awadh to report to the Emperor about the financial affairs in the subah to the chief diwan at the central government, Khawaja Shamsuddin Khafi.[3]

Other dignitaries to the office of provincial diwan in Awadh included Mohammad Salahandkhudi in 1655-56 (1066 A.H.),[4] Abul Hasan, son of Abu Mohammad Said, appointed on 28 August, 1695. Prior to his appointment the latter held the mansab of 400/150 but on appointment as diwan of Awadh his rank was raised to 400/250.[5]

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1. Akbarnamah, tr. Bev., Vol. III, pp. 598-99.
2. Ibid., p. 924.
3. Akbarnamah, vol. III, p. 1029.
4. Badshah Namah, Vol. II, p. 348.
5. Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla, 39/42.

The provincial diwan exercised manifold functions. The collection and disbursement of the revenues and assignment of the charitable grants in accordance with the imperial orders were some of his main functions. The diwan was generally consulted in matters relating to civil and revenue administration of the province by the governor, as the standing instructions of the imperial government were that these two high officials should work in cooperation with each other, and all major decisions should be taken and implemented with mutual consent. On 12 July, 1700 Zabardast Khan the subehdar of Awadh transferred the ~~subehdar of Awadh transferred the~~ zamindari of pargana Jahangirabad from Muhammad Sharif to Muhammad Nazib in consultation with and approval of Abul Hasan, the diwan.[1] The faujdar of Lucknow recruited 6000 muskateers with the advice of the same diwan, Abul Hasan.[2]

As a general rule diwans were appointed to each subah of the Mughal Empire. In the sarkar the diwan was represented by karori or amil to collect the revenue. But in the subah of Awadh sametime seprate diwans were appointed to some important sarkars, but they worked under the control and superintendance of the principal provincial diwan. According to Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla the diwan of Gorakhpur Mohammad Said was transferred

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1. Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla, 44/142.

2. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, f. 3b.

on 6 November 1693 and Abul Fateh was appointed in his place. He was formerly a mansabdar of 200/200 and his rank was now increased to 250/250.[1] The same source further states that Fakhruddin served as diwan of Lucknow with a rank of Chahar bisi in 1693.[2] In 1694 Muhammad Khalil son of Muhammad Qasim with a rank of 200/200 who was the diwan of Awadh presumably sarkar Awadh, was transferred to Bhakkar as diwan.[3] In Bahadur Shah's reign Abul Qasim the diwan of Lucknow was also appointed faujdar of Khairabad and held the rank 600/100.[4] As mentioned above, pargana level the karori represented the diwan. For example in 1657 Suliaman Shikoh son of Dara Shikoh after defeating Shah Shujah forcibly took possession of the revenues of pargana Nadina in sarkar Lucknow and made the defiant karori of that pargana a captive.[5]

The diwans appointed to the sarkars were responsible for the collection of the revenue and realization of taxes and also supervise the madad-i ma'ash grants.

The amils and mutsaddis were working under the subordination of the diwan and were accountable to him. It was his duty

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1. Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla, 37/15.
2. Ibid., 37/13.
3. Ibid., 38/22.
4. Ibid., f. 68a, 76a.
5. Alamgir Namah, Vol. I, pp. 171, 174.

to look into the working of those offcials so that the revenue realization should not suffer and decline. On 12 June 1704, it was reported to the Emperor that there were no *amils* and mutsaddis on duty in *pargana*. Kakori and so the *zamindar* of that area withheld the payment of revenue. Therefore Mohd. Yar the *diwan* of Prince Muhammad was transferred to Kakori to set the affairs in order.[1]

Sadr :

Each *subah* had a *sadr* who was also an important official in the province. He was responsible *sadr-us-sadur* or chief *sadr* in the central government, at whose recommendation the Emperor ? According the *Ain* his duty was to create harmony between different kind of people and show kindness and generosity towords the people.[2] Some of the important collection of documents including the *Farangi Mahal Documents*, *Jais Documents*, *Khairabad Documents*, *Bilgram Documents*, *Lucknow Archieve Documents*, *Allahabad Documents* etc. throw light on the multifarious duties of the *sadr* which included the examination of petitions of *madad-i ma'ash* and recommendation for the continuance of the rights accruing therefrom. Those documents throw light on the procedure adopted in connection with the grant of *madad-i ma'ash* land to the deserving persons. According to rules the grantees

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1. *Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla*, 12th June, 1704 A.D.
2. *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 281; *Hidayat-ul Qawaid*, f. 19b.

had to get their grants renewed and confirmed by the provincial *sadr*. For example, the original *farmans* or endorsement (*tashiha*) of the grants by previous *sadr* were required to be renewed by the new *sadr*, in case of non-compliance by the claiments the grants stood cancelled, and the relevant papers along with the written report of the *sadr* were despatched to the office of the provincial *diwan* for record and necessary action. During the governorship of Munim Khan Mir Faridun was the *sadr* of the the province.[1] In 1580 Maulana Mohammad Yazdi was appointed *sadr* of Awadh[2] and 1581 *sadarat* was conferred on Hakim Humam.[3]

Qazi :

Among the semi-religious provincial officers next, in importance to the *sadr* of the *subah*, was the provincial *qazi*. In the early years of Akbar's reign the posts of *Qazi* and *Sadr* were generally combined in one person but latter on separate *qazis* were appointed to every province, *sarkar*, *pargana*, town and even village.

The *qazi-i subah* was rekoned as one of the four great officers of the *subah* and took in seat at the provincial capital.[4]

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1. *Tarikh-i Humayun Wa Akbar*, p. 309.
2. *Akbarnamah*, Vo. III, p. 410.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 546
4. *Mirat-i Ahmadi* (Supplement), p. 81.

The *qazi-i subah* was appointed by Emperor by a *farman* through the instrumentality of the chief *qazi* at the centre. During the reign of Akbar considerations of sect or class were not taken into account in matters of appointment to this post.[1] Abul Fazl in *Ain*. III on the *mir-i 'adal* and the *qazi* highlights the importance of the office of Qazi in the judicial administration of the Empire. Regarding the respective functions of the *Qazi* and *mir-i 'adal* he writes,

> "he (Emperor) should then take up the case and reinvestigate and inquire into it a new, and with discrimination and signleness of view search it to its core. If capacity and vigour are not be found united, he should appoint two persons, one to investigate whom they call a *qazi*, the other the *Mir-i 'adal* to carry out his finding."[2]

The provincial *qazi* was given a sufficient high *mansab*.[3] The *qazi-i subah* decided civil and criminal cases like the other *qazis* and also disposed of appeals referred to him by the governor and those instituted in his court.[4] He administered the oath of office to the new governor, paid a visit to him and

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1. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 282; Qazi Muhammad, who was a Shia was appointed *qazi* of Delhi

2. *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 43.

3. *Amal-i Saleh*, Vol. III, p. 114.

4. *Muntakhabul Lubab*, Vol. II, pp. 756-757, *Selected Document of Aurangzeb's Reign*, pp. 49-50.

and attended the reception accorded to him.[1] The qazi was a subordinate officer in the province. He worked under the general supervision of the governor who constituted appellate court. He usually tried cases relating to boundry disputes, marriages, dower, divorce, inheritance, disputes arising out of property, execution wills as well as punishment of offences etc. He led the congregational prayers on Fridays and Id festivals, and preached the moral doctrines of the religion.[2] In same areas he was entrusted with the task of collecting custom duties.[3] The Allahabad Documents throw light on the co-ordination between the faujdar and the qazi of the sarkar and disputes relating to lands and zamindari rights were settled with their mutual consultations.[4]

Bakhshi:

The bakhshi occupied an important position in the provincial administration. He was in charge of military establishment in the subah. It was his duty to arrange and organise the recruitment of troops. He kept a full record about their descriptive rolls, salaries, and other particulars. If a

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1. M.B. Ahmad, The Administration and Justice in Medieval India, p. 150.

2. Fatwa-i Alamgiri, ed by Saiyid Ali, p. 414.

3. Travels in India, Vol. II, p. 262.

4. Allahabad Documents, No. 375.

mansabdar went away without taking leave from the bakhshi, he was declared a runaway or deserter.[1] He was also the news-writer of the subah and informed the emperor about the important or unusual happenings. When an expedition was launched the bakhshi examined the troops of the mansabdars.[2] On 14 December, 1681, Aurangzeb divided his empire into three parts each placed under a competant bakhshi. Accordking Bengal, Orissa the four subahs of the South, Ahmadabad, Ajmer, Malwa, Awadh, Kashmir were entrusted to Rafiullah Khan. The other part consisted to Ashraf Khan, and the third one comprising Akbarabad, Bihar, Lahore, Multan and Thatta entrusted to Abdur Rahim Khan.[3]

Bakhshi was also appointed to each sarkar. In 1629, Shahjahan appointed Mustafa Khan Khafi as bakhshi of Lucknow.[4] The bakhshi normally also held the post of waqia-navis, accordingly, Mohammad Munim was appointed bakhshi and waqia-navis of Lucknow vice Nadrud-zaman. He was formerly a mansabdar of two hundred and now an additional rank of fifty sawar was added to his rank.[5]

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1. P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 198.
2. Hidayat-ul Qawaid, f. 16b.
3. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 37/13.
4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 516.
5. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 37/5; Mirza Ahmad son of Mirza Tarab Khafi was bakhshi of subah Awadh during Aurangzeb's reign, Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, Vol. II, p. 357.

The Secret Service:

Throughout the length and breadth of the empire the waqai-navis and the sawanih-nigars were appointed. These officers were generally posted in the departments of subehdar, diwan, faujdar and they collected information of day-to-day events for onward transmission to the imperial headquarters. The waqia-navis was appointed directly by the Emperor to whom he despatched his reports for perusal and action. On 25 October, 1693 Mohammad Monim was appointed bakhshi and waqia-navis of Lucknow in place of Nadrizam,[1] but on 2 November 1693 Asadullah, son of Mir Qasim, was appointed only waqia-Navis of Lucknow. Formerly he was a mansabdar of 100 to which 50 sawars additional were added. Sawanih-nigars was an officer to work in strict secrecy, the waqia-navis, too, kept an eye on the activities of sawanih-nigars. Abdul Azim waqia-navis of Lucknow wrote that Sawanih-nigar, Shaikh Abdul Rahmat, whose jagir was in mauza Ajgain had kept hundred rupees in his office and was engaged in imposing all types of illegal cesses.[3]

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1. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 37/5.

2. Ibid., 37/13.

3. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, f. 14a.

Faujdar:

The *faujdar* was an important executive officer at the district level who assisted the governor in the maintenance of law and order in the countryside and collection of revenues from the refractory *zamindars*. He was appointed by a royal *farman* which bore the seal and signature of the *mir bakhshi*. He was directly responsible to the Emperor but worked under the immediate control of the *subedar*. His main duties were: to maintain law and order within his jurisdiction; to exercise supervision over the army and police establishments; to assist the revenue-collectors in the realisation of dues; and to take care that other servants under his command should execute the imperial regulations faithfully. Manucci dwells on the importance of the office of *faujdar*, "the king was obliged to maintain *faujdars* who were like lords of an army, for, if he had no such officers no one would pay him either revenue or tribute." The *Insha-i Roshan Kalam* throws light

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1. Moreland says that the post, or the charge of a *faujdar* from 17th century; also the general, as distinct from the revenue administration; and hence in later times, criminal as distinct from civil, jurisdiction." *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 272; According to P. Saran *sarkar* was the only division next to the *subah*, with the *faujdar* as its head, and the *amalguzar* in charge of its revenue, it is clear that *faujdar* represented the executive half of the government," *Provincial Government of the Mughal*, p. 193.
   N.A. Siddiqi rightly says that "the *faujdari* constituted an independent administrative unit and its territorial limits varied from place to place and from time to time." *The faujdar and faujdari under the Mughals*, *M.I.Q.*, Vol. IV, 1961, p. 23.
2. *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 450.

on the powers, functions and the working of the *faujdar's* institution in this *subah*. The *faujdar* maintained the law and order situation by undertaking patrolling of the countryside, supervised the military forces and provided armed support to the *karoris*, *gumashtas* and others in times of need. His representative, the *thanadar*, arranged the personnel of the revenue posts, and stopped the levying of illegal cesses. It may be noted that office of the *faujdar* largely depended upon the personality and influence of its incumbents. Sher Andaj Khan, an experienced and powerful *faujdar* of Baiswara successfully suppressed the refactory *zamindars* and restored complete law and order in that region.[1]

There was no uniform demarcation of the *faujdari* area in this *subah*. *Sarkar* Gorakhpur, *sarkar* Awadh, *sarkar* Bahraich, *sarkar* Khairabad, and *sarkar* Lucknow were placed under separate *faujdars*. But there are cases on record when two *sarkars* were given under the administrative charge of one *faujdar*. For instance, the *faujdari* of Gorakhpur was attached to that of Awadh,[2] while the *faujdari* of Lucknow was attached to Baiswara.[3] The division of *faujdari* area entirely

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1. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 3ab, 4ab.
2. *Alamgir Namah*, Vol. I, p. 202; *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh*, p.523; *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri*, p. 470.
3. *Badshahnamah*, Vol. I, p. 243; *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, Vol. p. 584.

dependent upon administrative needs and local conditions. Sometimes a portion territory of one subah was attached to that of another subah. To quote an example, Abul Samad Khan was faujdar of Sultanpur Bilahri as well as of the sarkar of Manikpur in the subah of Allahabad.[1] This presents a unique phenomenon and seems to have been guided by considerations of administrative experience. A study of the primary sources suggests that the subah was divided into following faujdari areas, sarkar Gorakhpur,[2] sarkar Awadh,[3] sarkar Lucknow,[4] sarkar Bahraich,[5]

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1. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 37/21.

2. Amal-i Saleh, Vol. II, p. 10; Badshahnamah, Vol. I, p. 11; Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, p. 250; Alamgirnamah, Vol.II, p. 590; Hatim Khan, Alamgirnamah, p. 163a; Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/100, f. 216, 36/32.

3. Iqbalnama, Dafter 2, f. 45b; Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p. 186; Mirat-ul Alam, f. 106b; Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p.585; Alamgirnamah, Vol. II, pp. 860, 786; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 181, 470; Sujan Rai, Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, p. 523; Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/71, 72.

4. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p. 230; Badshahnamah, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 102; Ma'asir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, p. 210; Vol. III,pp.584, 781; Amal-i Saleh, Vol. II, pp. 146, 399, Vol. III, p.159 Badshahnamah, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 278, Vol. II, p. 361; Waris, Badshahnamah, Vol. I, p. 58, Vol. II, p. 261; Alamgirnamah, Vol. I, p. 146; Miratul Alam, f. 143b; Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/255, 39/35, 44/161.

5. Iqbalnamah Dafter 2, p.456; Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, 396; Badshahnamah, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 195; 474; Amal-i Saleh, Vol. I, p.518, Travels of Peter Mundy in India in Europe and Asia (1608-1667), Vol. II, p. 375; Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 587, Vol. II, p. 871, Vol. I, p. 814, Vol. II, p. 422; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, pp. 351, 381; Alamgirnamah, Vol. I, pp. 158, 341, Vol. II, pp. 629, 818, 827; Alamgirnamah, Vol. I, pp. 158, 341, Vol. II, pp. 629, 818, 827; Qazwini, Badshahnamah, Vol. II, p. 288; Hatim Khan, Alamgirnamah, p. 132a; Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f. 110a, 2013, f.273; f. 115, 126.

sarkar Khairabad,[1] Baiswara,[2] Sultanpur Bilahri,[3] Bilgram,[4] Sandila,[5] Bari,[6] Gopamau,[7] Fatehpur Bahrar,[8] Daryabad[9] and Malihabad.[10]

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1. Waris, Badshahnamah, Vol. II, p. 261, Alamgirnamah, Vol. I, p. 161, Vol. II, 862-3; Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 141; Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f 273, f. 73, 38/47, 38/65, 37/61, 37/53.
2. Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla, f. 37/27.
3. Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla, f. 216.
4. Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla, 44/161.
5. Allahabad Document, No. 375.
6. Akhbarat-i Darbar-Mualla, 38/103.
7. Ibid., 38/171.
8. Ibid., f. 31.
9. Ibid., 38/221.
10. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, f. 14b.

Sarkar of Khairabad was a *faujdari* unit which the *faujdari* of Baraili was also attached. It is not clear from any piece of evidence whether the *faujdar* of Khairabad managed the affairs of Baraili himself or he appointed his deputy. In 1693 Shah Quli Khan was appointed *faujdar* of Khairabad[1] and in 1694 Khairyandesh[2] was holding the triplicate posts of *faujdar* and *amin* of Khairabad and Baraili. Atiqullah Khan, *faujdar* of Etawa died, Khairyandesh Khan was appointed *faujdar* of Etawa and for this service his rank was enhanced by 100/500. Now the *faujdar* of Khairabad enjoyed the *faujdars* of both Baraili and Etawa.

The *subehdar* of Awadh also sometimes held the *faujdari* of Gorakhpur, e.g. Ali Quli Khan,[3] Zabardast Khan,[4] Shamser Khan[5] were *subehdar* as well as *faujdars* of Gorakhpur during their tenures.

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1. His previous rank was 1000/1000, out of this 500 *sawar* were *do aspa sih aspa*. He was promoted for his *faujdari* of Khairabad to 1000/1000, 700 *sawar* was made *do aspa sih aspa*. *Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla*, f. 73.

2. Khairyandesh's rank was 500/400, out of 300 *sawar* was *do aspah sih aspa*. After his removal from Khairabad his rank was reduced and only 200 *sawar* were remained *do aspah sih aspa*, *Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mualla*, f. 73.

3. *Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla*, 36/32.

4. *Ibid.*, 36/35.

5. *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, Vol. III, p. 249.

Mukarmat Khan[1] while he was faujdar of Gorakhpur, the faujdari of Sultanpur Bilahri was also entrusted. In 1665, Fedai Khan, the faujdar of Gorakhpur, led an expedition against Chand Bahadur, Raja of Kamaun. The Raja sued for peace and promised the restoration of Imperial authority over the region.[2] There were no rigid principles for placing the administration under the charge of a single faujdar or entrusting the subehdar with one or the other faujdari and then detaching it from him and assigning it under the charge of some other faujdar. For instance, in 1677 the faujdari of Bahraich was under the jurisdiction of subehdar of Awadh. But Namdar Khan the subehdar then appointed his son as the faujdar of Bahraich.[3] In 1659 the faujdari of Bahraich was combined with that of Lucknow whose faujdar was Mukaram Khan.[4]

Baiswara was dominated by the Bais clan who were always defying the Mughal authority in the region. Then it was created as a separate faujdari unit. The jurisdiction of Baiswara extended over Kanjura, Harra, Kheri, Bilhaur, Rai Bareli, Unao, Rudauli, Uncha Gaon, Amethi, Dewi, Monohargadh, Shivpur, Sitapur, Bilgram, Sandila and Bilhar (Dalmau and

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1. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f. 216.
2. Ibid., f. 103a.
3. Ibid., f. 20/3.
4. Mirat-ul Nam, f. 143b.

Rai Bareli were in sarkar Manikpur).[1] Sometimes it was attached to the faujdari of Lucknow.[2] Evidence on record shows that the faujdar of Baiswara performed the major task of pacifying and keeping free of trouble the region and therefore he was assigned the jagir-i Mashrot for his emoluments and expenses in the subah.[3]

The Insha-i Roshan Kalam throws light on the powers and functions of the faujdar of the subah. It makes it clear that the faujdar performed military and police functions in Baiswara. This work contains a number of Arzdashts to the effect that Sher Andaz Khan, the faujdar of Baiswara had to undertake a number of expeditions against the rebellious zamindars. In one arzdasht he states that military operations against the Chauhans of Kanjura in pargana Shahpur were launched, and heavy losses were inflicted on their army. The zamindar was forced to surrender the fort and conclude peace

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1. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, f. 10 to 12b; For detail see Zahiruddin Malik, 'Problems of Faujdari jurisdiction in Baiswara', which he read in Indian History Congress at Chandigarh in 1973.

2. Badshahnamah, Vol. I, pt. II, p.243; Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 584.

3. In 1692 Mansur Beg (Shah Quli) was appointed faujdar of Baiswara, his previous rank was 1000/500. For his new appointment, he received 1000 sawar conditional. Now his total rank was 1000/1000, out of 500 sawar was made do-aspah sih aspah. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 36/31; Khudabanda Khan's previous rank was 1500/1000, out of 800 sawar was do aspah sih aspah. After his removal from Baiswara his 1000/500 conditional rank was made uncondition. His rank remained 1500/1000, out of 800 do aspah sih aspah. Akhbarat i Darbar- Mualla, 38/275.

with the government. The fort ~~has been~~ was then put under the charge of Saiyid Muzaffar and in order to strengthen his position and raise his prestige zamindari rights, subject to imperial confirmation, ~~have~~ were also ~~been~~ granted to him.

In another ardasht he recommended that Saiyid Gulam Ali Bilgrami, the mansabdar, should be appointed zamindar of the area (mauja Thatar in pargana Harra) on condition that in addition to the payment of the stipulated amount of land-revenue, he would also deposit 10 to 15 thousand rupees as a peshkash in the royal treasury.[1] In 1695 Jadaon, a native of Lucknow complained that relatives of Karam Sar, the Afghan had occupied the zamindari of Madh village. An Ahadi was appointed with insructions that he should hold an enquiry into the matter. Accordingly Khudabanda Khan, the faujdar of Lucknow, was delegated this power.[2] The news came from Lucknow that seditious zamindars had killed a student, named Qutbuddin. Therefore, Tahar Khan, the faujdar of Lucknow was was directed to punish the rebel.[3] Instances of faujdar's

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1. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, f. 3b; Muazzam Ali Bilgrami prepared a statement of recommendation to secure the zamindari for himself and continued to make the document apparently valid by placing on it the seal of this obedient servant. He keeps this document with himself. He (the faujdar) in fact did not put his seal on the above document which it was hoped, would not be considered as genuine, and hw should not be appointed the zamindar, f. 5a.

2. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/221.

3. Ibid., 39/35.

executive and judicial functions are afforded by adjudication in respect of cases of disputes relating to pattas, boundaries, proprietary rights and customs dues etc. An interesting case was reported from *pargana* Husampur in November 1689. The letter herein referred to as *Mahzar*, dated 15 November, 1689, from Mohammad Arif Husain the *qazi* and *mufti* of *pargana* Husampur, *pargana* *Haveili* Bahraich and of its vincinity, describes how a nocturnal attack was made by unsocial elements on the mud fort of a *zamindar* and houses of public servants and cultivators in the neighbourhood and consequently the *faujdar* and the *Amin* of the area had to despatch the local militia to oust and dislodge the mischief mongers and recover the property under the illegal occupation.[1] There is abundant evidence of this type to prove conclusively that the *faujdar* compelled the seditious and unyielding *zamindars* for regular payments of land-revenue, safe-guarded the property of the common people and checked the highway robbery. He also recommended the appointment of new *zamindars* in many cases.[2]

The *faujdars* in the *subah* of Awadh were also associated with the judicial functions. The complainant usually came to

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1. *U.P. State Archieves*, Accession No. 879, 880, 882 and 901.
2. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. ?

the court of the *faujdar* who referred the case to the *qazi* and the *mutawalli*,[1] and with their mutual consultation and findings the case was decided. A very interesting case exemplifies and elaborates this point further. The merits of the case are reported in the *Allahabad Document*, No. 375. The case was filed with the *faujdar* and *amin* of Sandilah, Shaikh Ghulam Mohiuddin on 7, zil Hij, 1072 by one Mohammad Sharif, son of Abdul Haleem, the *chaudhri* of *pargana* Sandila with the support of Abid bin Hayat Khan, *patwari* of *pargana* Sandila. The aforsaid plaintiff stated that the village patwaripur Mohton, in *tappa haveli*, *pargana* Sandila within the juriddiction of sarkar Lucknow, was his estate but the defendant was under the forcible and illegal occupation of the estate and claimed the *zamindari* rights for himself and paid nothing to the plaintiff. Having secured the removal of the former *muqaddam*, he anyhow got a Rajput appointed in his place. The plaintiff had been in the military service of the imperial forces for the preceding nine years and his absence from his estate was misused by the defendant to occupy

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1. *Mutawalli*, who administered the *madad-i ma'ash* lands at the pargana level. It appears that in the first half of 18th century the *Mutawalli* came to be increasingly associated with the administration of the *madad-i ma'ash* lands. From a document in the *Dastur-ul Amal-i Bekas* we learn that a *pargana Mutawalli* was appointed by virtue of a royal order, and served under the *sadr*. He enquired into the condition of the persons who held the *madad-i ma'ash* lands or received cash allowances and was required to send regular reports to the office of the *Sadr*. He put his seal on the papers relating to the grant of the *madad-i ma'ash* lands and cash allowances; *Dastur-ul Amal-i Bekas*, ff. 38, 39 as quoted in '*Mughal Land Revenue Administration*, N.A.Siddiqui, p. 131.

the land and tamper with the title deeds by deceit through the former's karinda (manager) and obtained the transfer of the zamindari rights to the defendant.

The case, with all the relevant documents, was made over by the faujdar, Shaikh Ghulam Mohuddin to Qazi Jubullah and the Mutawalli Abdullah to adjudicate upon the litigants' rights with the application of the shariat law. They assessed the facts on the basis of the examination of evidence, both documentary and oral and the depositions of respectable citizens of the city and the people around the locality as to the credibility of the rights of the parties and in the end returned a verdict in favour of the veracity of the plaintiff's case and so Mohammad Sharif Chaudhri was placed in occupancy and zamindari rights of the estate. The findings of the case also revealed that the Patwari had advanced a loan to the manager and falsely issued a sale-deed in favour of the defendant, Abid Hayat Khan. The defendant consequently lost the case which was adjudged baseless.[1]

The faujdars of this subah discharged other duties which were assigned to them from the imperial headquarter. Sher Andaz Khan, the faujdar of Baiswara, was assigned the

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1. Allahabad Document, No. 375.

job of military recruitment. According to the royal order, he recruited six thousand muskateers in consultation with Abul Hasan Diwan, Mohammad Amin mansabdar and Narothem Hazari. They paid them three month's salary in advance and despatched them in groups, one after another to the imperial headquarter. These muskateers were already in the service of Mohammad Amin who paid then 32 thousand rupees in advance. Sher Andaz Khan charged Mohammad Amin for not having sent all the new recruits to the Centre. He pleaded that if Saiyid Ghulam Mohiuddin and Tarbiyat instead of Mohammad Amin were appointed mansabdars since they were the natives of this region, and responsible for the recruitment, they will provide all necessary assistance to the imperial government. Sher Andaj Khan also provided military escort consisting of 500 horsemen under the command of Wajihuddin for the dispatch of Treasury of Gorakhpur across the border of his territorial limits.[1]

There is hardly any instance on available records suggesting conflict over jurisdiction or clash of power between a faujdar and subehdar, which tends to show that the relations between these two officers were always cordial. Subahdar of Awadh could also hold the faujdari in his subah and usually the faujdari of Gorakhpur. It is interesting to note that in 1719 when Girdhar Bahadur was appointed subehdar, he too held

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1. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, f. 3a.

a *faujdari* in this *subah*.[1] Subsequently this practice ceased to operate and separate *faujdars* were appointed to each *faujdari* unit.

The Parganah and its Officials:

Since the period of Sher Shah three categories of officials were seen as functionaries in the *parganah*. These officials were the *shiqdar*, the *amin* and the *qanungo*, who were incharge of law and order and criminal justice, realisation of revenue from the peasants, and preparation regarding revenue assessment in the pargana respectively.[2]

Amin was assisted by the *chaudhries* and the *qanungoes* in the *pargana*. In every *parganah* there were *qanungoes*, whose post was mostly hereditary. The chaudhries were the influential men of their region and were responsible for revenue collection. In 1705, Mohammad Tarab, son of Jalaluddin was appointed *chaudhri* of *pargana* Manwi in *sarkar* Lucknow.[3] If the *Qanungo* and *chaudhri* were not found discharging their duties well, they were removed from the office. The officials in the *pargana* like and *chaudhri* and *qanungo* of the *pargana* Shahabad in *sarkar* Khairabad, named Mahesh Ram and the

1. *Siyar-ul Mutakherin*, p. 135.
2. *The Provincial Government of the Mughal*, p. 196.
3. *Framin-i Salatin*, p. 132.

retainer of chaudhri as well as qanungos of the pargana Birbal and Dharam Das were too much remiss in their duties and unfit for their work. They were always harassing the inhabitants and there were constant complaints of their ill treatment. The aforsaid chaudhri and qanungo were removed and Raja Durga Sahai newly converted to Islam and re-christened Mohd. Hussain was appointed chaudhri and qanungo of the pargana.[1]

Quite often the Qanungo used to send peshkash to the imperial court. On 20 July, 1695 Mohan Lal, qanungo of Gorakhpur sent one thousand rupees as peshkash to the imperial court.[2] On 9 July, 1695 he sent 55 tola mushk to the court.[3] On 17 April, 1696 Bani Prasad, son of Mohan Lal, gave Shal to Nandshashi Bhauwa Khan, as inam with the solicit to Turbiyat Khan and received the mansab of one hundred.[4]

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1. Framin-i Salatin, p. 104.
2. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 39/35.
3. Ibid., 39/26.
4. Ibid., 40/10.

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Subahdars of Subah Awadh

Name of the Subahdars	Year of appointment	Year of transfer	Mansab
1. Wazir Khan	1581(25th R.Y.)	1583	4000/4000
2. Mirza Yousuf Khan Rizvi	1586(30th R.Y.)	-	-
3. Qasim Ali Khan & Fateh Khan	1587(31st R.Y.)	1591 (35th R.Y)	700/700
4. Mir Abul Muzaffar	1594(38th R.Y.)	-	500/500
5. Jawaher Khan	End of Akbar's reign	-	-
6. Pir Muhammad	Jahangir's reign	-	-
7. Baker Khan	1621(16th R.Y.)	-	900/900
8. Bakar Khan	Ist R.Y. of Shahjahan's reign		
9. Mirza Khan Mahohar Chahar	1635(9th R.Y.)	1648-49	-

1. Ma'asir-ul Umara, vol. III, p. 931; Ain-i Akbari(Bloch),Vol.I, p. 380.
2. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 314.
3. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p.60; Ain-i Akbari, Vol.I,p. 518.
4. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 423.
5. Nevill, District Gazetteers of Lucknow, p. 144.
6. Nevill, District Gazetteers of Sitapur, p. 200.
7. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,p. 337; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p.166; Tarikh-i Shahjahan wa Alamgir, p.3a; Khafi Khan, vol. I, pt.II, p.398.
8. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 587.
9. Waris, Vol. I, p. 64; Amal-i Salih, Vol. III,p.64,106; Ma'asir-Umara, Vol. I, p. 393.

10.	Itiqad Khan	1648-49	-	5000/5000
	" "	1649-50	-	" "
11.	Shahnawaz Khan Savi	1653(26th R.Y.)	-	5000/5000 (2-3h)
12.	Shah Beg	1653	-	-
13.	Tarbiyat Khan " "	1658(31st RY) 159(321	-	2000/1500 (1000x2-3h)
14.	Baker Khan Nazam Sani	1558	-	-
15.	Iradat Khan	1658(Ist RY)	-	3000/3000 (1000x2-3h)
16.	Fedai Khan	1659(2nd RY)	1659 AD	4000/4000
17.	Mukarram Khan, Azam Khan, Murad Khan	1661(3rd RY)	1665	-
18.	Saf Shikhan Khan Muhammad Tahir	June, 1669	-	3000/2000 (500x2-3h)
19.	Fedai Khan, Azam Khan Koka	1669(11th RY)	-	-

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10. Amal-i Salih, Vol. III, p.154; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. II, p.673; Waris, Vol. I, p.197, Vol. II, p. 207.
11. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 104.
12. Nevill, Distt. Gazetteers of Hardoi, p. 138.
13. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. I, pt. I, p.494; Amal-i Salih, Vol. II, p.271.
14. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. I, p. 410.
15. Alamgir Nama, Vol. I, pp.127,202, Hatim Khan, p.38b; Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, p. 204.
16. Baqait-i Alamgiri, p.98,100; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. I, p.250.
17. Alamgir Nama, Vol. II, p. 927.
18. Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mu'alla, 4 June, 1667, f.122b.
19. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. I, p.250; Maasir-i Alamgiri, p.104.

20.	Fedai Khan, Azam Khan Koka, Tarbiyat Khan	1671(13th RY)	-	-
21.	Musahib Ali Khan	1672	-	-
22.	Saadat Khan, Mir Ahmad	1674(17th RY)	-	-
23.	Namdar Khan	1675(18th RY)	-	4000/2000
24.	Tarbiyat Khan Birlas	1676(19th RY)	-	-
25.	Namdar Khan	1677(20th RY)	-	-
26.	Tahawwar Khan	1678(21st RY)	-	-
27.	Abu Muhammad Khan Bijapuri	1679(22nd RY)	-	-
28.	Iradat Khan	1685	-	-
29.	Himmat Khan, Kamgar Khan, Muhammad Hasan	1690(33th RY)	-	3000/2000
30.	Ali Quli Khan s/o Mahabat Khan	22 Dec.1692	-	-

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20. Maasir-i Alamgiri, p.104; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. I, p.297.

21. Nevill, Distt. Gazetteer of Unao, p. 145.

22. Maasir-i Alamgiri, p. 143; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. III,p.833.

23. Ibid.

24. M. Athar Ali,'Provincial Governors Under Aurangzeb', Medieval India, - A Miscellany, p. 96.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Sujan Rai, p. 509.

29. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. III,p.950; Maasir-i Alamgiri, p.335.

30. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f. 38/32; Futuhat-i Alamgiri,p.460.

31.	Akram Khan	-	17 Sept.1694	-
32.	Khuda Band Khan	1694(37th RY)	-	-
33.	Askar Khan Hyderabadi	5 Nov. 1695	-	-
34.	" " "	1698 ?	-	-
	" " "	1697	-	-
34.	Asadullah, Ikram Khan	1698	-	-
36.	Asadullah, Ikram Khan Zbardast Khan, Mohd. Khalil	1699	-	-
36.	Shamsher Khan Qureshi	1700(43th RY)	-	-
	Shamsher Khan Qureshi Zabardast Khan, Mohd. Khalil	1701(44th RY)	-	-
37.	" " "	1702(45th Ry)	-	-
38.	Mohd. Murad Khan	1703(46th RY)	-	-

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31. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, b. 38/106.

32. Medieval India,- A Miscellany, p. 96.

33. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/125; Maasir-i Alamgiri, p.369.

34. Medieval India, A Miscellarny, p. 96.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 96-134.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39.	Shemsher Khan Qureshi	1704(46th R.Y.)	-	-
40.	" "	1704(48th R.Y.)	-	-
41.	Mirza Khan Alam	1705(49th R.Y.)	-	-
42.	Abu Nasar Khan s/o Shaishta Khan	1706(50th R.Y.)	-	3000/2500
43.	Abu Nasar Khan	1707	-	-
44.	Nizamul Mulk	1707	-	-
45.	Qulich Khan	1709-10	1711	6000/6000
46.	Sarbuland Khan	1713	-	-
47.	Ali Asad Khan	1719	-	-
48.	Girdhar Bahadur	1720	1723	5000/5000
49.	Saadat Khan	1722	-	-

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39. Medieval India - A Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 96-134.

40. Maasir-i Alamgiri, p. 516.

41-43. Ibid.

44. Rukkat-i Alamgiri, 516.

45. Muntakhabul Lubab, Vol. II,p. 674.

46. Tarikh-i Hindi, p.447; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol.III, p.803.

47. Tarikh-i Hindi, p. 473.

48. Muntakhabul Lubab, Vol. II, p. 843; Maasir-ul Umara,Vol.II, p. 330; Siyar-ul Mutakherin, p. 132.

49. Siyar-ul Mutakherin, p.218; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol.I, Pt.I, p. 465.

Faujdar of Khairabad

Name of Faujdars	Year of appointment	Year of transfer	Mansab
1. Saiyid Murtaza Khan	1653 AD	-	1000 zat,600 sawar
2. Abdul Muqtadir	Shahjahan's reign	-	1000/600
3. Saiyid Anwar	1657	1663	1000 zat,700 sawar
4. Mir Asfandiyar Mamuri	1663	-	-
5. Mujahid Khan	1675	1675	-
6. Inayat Khan	1675	-	-
7. Fazil Khan s/o Inayat Khan	1681	1681	-
8. Matalib Shah Quli	3 May 1693	-	-
9. Khairyandesh Khan	1693	26 April 1693	500/400(300x2-3h)

1. Badshah Nama (Waris), pt. II, p. 261.
2. Ain-i Akbari (Block) Vol.I, p. 523.
3. Alamgir Nama, Vol. I, p. 161.
4. Alamgir Nama, Vol. II, pp. 862-3.
5. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 141.
6. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri, p. 141.
7. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f. 273.
8. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f. 105.
9. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f. 73; After the transfer his rank was reduced (100x2-3h), and his rank remained 500/400, out of 200 sawar was Do aspha sih aspa.

10.	Shah Quli Khan	26 April 1693		1000/1000 (700x2-3h)
11.	Mohd Fazil s/o Khairyandesh Khan	19 March 1694		Previous rank 200/50,present 250/250.
12.	Abul Qasim Khan	Bahadur Shah's reign		600/100
13.	Khairyandesh Khan	28 March 1694-3 July 1694	5July 1694	500/500,do aspah sih aspah
14.	Mohd. Mohsin	5 July 1694		
15.	Aliqullah Khan	-	29 July 1694	400/300(50x2-3h) conditional.
16.	Muzaffar Beg	22 July 1694	-	400/200(2-3h)
17.	Abdul Muqtadar	-	-	1000/600
18.	Shaikh Jariu Khan -llah	-	-	-

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10. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f. 73.

11. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 37/53.

12. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f.68a; He was also Diwan of Lucknow.

13. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 37/52.

14. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/47.

15. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/65.

16. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/65.

17. Ma'asir-ul Umara, vol. III, p. 481.

18. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, Arzdasht No. 8.

Faujdar of Bahraich

Name of Faujdars	Year of appointment	Year of transfer	Mansab
1	2	3	4
1. Mir Sharif Ali	1603	-	-
2. Mirza Hassan s/o Mirza Rustam Saffvi	1625	-	1000/500
3. Salah	1627	-	-
4. Sarfaraz Khan Chakta	1631	-	2500/2500 (500x2-3h)
5. Mirza Khan	1632	-	3000/2000
6. Mirza Zulkarnain	1633	-	-
7. Mutaqad Khan	1657	1657	2000/2000 (800x2-3h)
8. Ahmed Beg Khan	1657	-	2500/2000
9. Yazzat Khan	1658	-	3000/1500
10. Iraq Khan	1660	-	-

1. Iqbal Nama, Dafter 2, f. 45b.
2. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p. 396.
3. Badshah Nama (Lahori),Vol.I,Pt.I,p.195; Qazwini,Vol.II,p.288.
4. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. II, p. 422.
5. Ma'asir-ul Umara, Vol. III,p.587; Lahori, vol.I,Pt.I,p.474; Vol. II,p.375.
6. Amal-i Salih, Vol. I,p.513; Lahori, Vol.I,Pt.I,p. 446;P.Mundy, Vol.II,p. 375.
7. Alamgir Nama, Vol.I,p. 158; Amal-i Salih,Vol.III,p. 272.
8. Alamgir Nama, Vol. I, p. 158.
9. Alamgir Nama, Vol. I, p. 341.
10. Mirat-ul Alam, f. 143 b.

11. Sardar Khan	1660	1662	2000/2500
12. Allahdad	1662 1663 1666 1669	-	-
13. Namdar Khan	1677	-	4000/4000
14. Dindar Khan s/o Mahabat	1677	Feb.1677	500/400
15. Dindar s/o Namdar	1677	-	-
16. Basalat Khan	-	25 Sept. 1681	-
17. Ghairat Khan	1688	-	2000/2000 (800x2-3h)
18. Monir Khan	-	9 Nov. 1689	-
19. Abu Nasar s/o Amir-ul-Umara	9 Nov.1689	-	2000/1500
20. Khudabanda Khan s/o Amir-ul Umara	1692 1694	-	1000/1000

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11. Hatim Khan, Alamgir Nama,,p.110; Alamgir Nama, Vol.II,p.629.

12. Qazim,vol. II, p. 827; Hatim Khan, p.132a; Akhbarat-i Darbar-Mualla, f. 110a 12/13.

13. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 320/3.

14. Ibid., 20/3.

15. Ibid., 20/8.

16. Ibid., f.273.

17. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. II, p. 871.

18. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f. 126.

19. Ibid., f. 126.

20. Maasir-i Alamgiri, p. 351; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. I, p. 814.

Faujdar of Awadh

1.	Mir Abul Khair s/o Ashraf Khan	1603	-	1000/500
2.	Saiyid Waris	-	1617(died)	-
3.	Bakar Khan	1623	-	-
4.	Fedai Khan	1657-8	1660	4000/4000
5.	Mirza Mukarram Khan Saffaiv	1659-60	-	5000/5000
6.	Shah Quli Khan	1663-4	1665-66	2000/2000 (1000x2-3h)
7.	Mukarram Khan	1667	1667(died)	5000/4000
8.	Tasaburr Khan	-	1678-9	-
9.	Abul Hamid Khan Bijapuri	1678-9	-	-
10.	Khalilullah Khan	1685-9	-	-

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1. Iqbal Nama Dafter 2, f, 456.
2. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p. 186.
3. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, pp. 361-356.
4. Alamgir Nama, Vol.I, p. 202; Mirat-ul Alam,f.106b.
5. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. II, p.585; Alamgir Nama, Vol.I,p.477.
6. Alamgir Nama, Vol. II, p. 860.
7. Jaipur Akhbarat, eited by Satya Prakash Sangar, Crime-and Punishment in Mughal India, p. 217.
8. Maasir-i Alamgiri, p. 181.
9. Ibid.
10. Sujan Rai, Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, p. 523.

11.	Bakar Khan s/o Amanat Khan	28 July 1694	1 Aug.1694	250/100
12.	Ali Quli Khan c/o Mahabat Khan	1692	-	-
13.	Zabardast Khan	1699	-	-
14.	Himmat Khan	1689	-	-

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11. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/72, 39/71, 38/85.

12. Ibid., 36/32.

13. Ibid.,

14. Maasir-i Alamgiri, 335; Maasir-ul Umara, vol. III,p.950.

Faujdars of Gorakhpur

1.	Mukhlis Khan	1605	1633	3000/2000
2.	Mahaldar Khan Bakshi	1633	-	4000/2000
3.	Azam Khan Koka (Fedai Khan)	1631	1660-61	4000/4000
4.	Allawardi Khan	1661-62	1665-66	3000/2000 promoted to 3500/3000(2-3h)
5.	Saadat Khan	1665-66	1667-68	3000/2000
6.	Fedai Khan	1668	-	4000/4000
7.	Himat Khan	1689	1692	3000/2000
8.	Karam Khan	26 Aug.1694	-	1600/1300
9.	Shamshar Khan	1702-3	-	-
10.	Ali Quli Khan s/o Mahabat Khan	22 Dec.1692	-	2000/2000
11.	Zabardast Khan	1697	-	2500/2200(100-2-3h)

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1. Amal-i Salih, Vol.II, p.10; Qazwini,Vol.II,pp.590;588; Maasir-ul Umara,Vol.III,pp. 420,429; Lahori, Vol. I,pt.II,p.11.
2. Lahori,vol.I, Pt.II, p.14; Amal-i Salih, Vol.II,p.10; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p.420; Qazwini, Vol. III, p. 590.
3. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. III,p.16; Vol.I,p.250, 248; Lahori,Vo.II, p. 489; Alamgir Nama, Vol. II, p. 590.
4. Alamgir Nama, Vol. II, pp. 648, 741,571,850,878; Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol. III,p.559; Hatim Khan, f. 163a.
5. Alamgir Nama, Vol. II, p. 967.
6. Ibid., p. 1061.
7. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 950; Maasir-i Alamgiri, p.335; Futuhat-i Alamgiri, p. 460.
8. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/100, f. 216.
9. Maasir-i Alamgiri, p. 471.
10. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. III,p.950; Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla,f.36/32
11. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f.337.

Faujdar of Lucknow

No.	Name			
1.	Saiyid Nizam	1618	1635	1000/700
2.	Lashkar Shikan s/o Shahnawaz Khan	1635	-	-
3.	Allahwardi Khan	1637	-	-
4.	Lashkar Shikan, grand son of Abdur Rahim	1637	-	700/500
5.	Saryandaz Khan	1639	-	1500/1800
6.	Saiyid Murtaza	1644	1648	-
7.	Mirza Mukaram Khan Saffavi	1648	1652	2000/2000
8.	Ahmed Beg	-	1655	500/500
9.	Iradat Khan	1655	-	2000/1800
10.	Iraj Khan	-	1658	-

1. Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, p. 230.

2. Lahori, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 102.

3. Lahori, Vol. Pt. II, p. 243; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. I,p. 210.

4. Amal-i Salih, Vol. II, p. 146.

5. Lahori, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 278.

6. Amal-i Salih, Vol. II, p. 399; Lahori, Vol. II,p.361; Waris, Vol. I, p. 88; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 584.

7. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 584.

8. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. I, p. 203; Waris, Vol. II, p.261; Amal-i Salih, Vol. III, p. 189.

9. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. I, p. 203; Waris, Vol. II, p. 261; Amal-i Salih, Vol. III, p. 189.

10. Alamgir Nama, Vol. I, p. 146.

11. Dalair Khan	1658	-	-
12. Iraj Khan	1660	-	-
13. Khudabanda Khan	21 May 1695	-	-
14. Mathur Khân	20July 1695	-	-
15. Shaikh Farid	-	-	-
16. Bhikhan Khan	1219 H.	-	-

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11. Alamgir Nama, Vol. I, p. 146.
12. Mirat-ul Alam, f. 143b.
13. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f. 38/255, 38/256.
14. Ibid., f. 39/35; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 704.
15. Zakirat-ul Khawanin, Vol. II, p. 352.
16. Farangi Mahal Document, No. 98.

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Faujdar of Baiswara

1.	Alawardi Khan	1046 H	-	-
2.	Saryandaz Khan	1047 H	-	2000/2000(2-3h)
3.	Saiyid Murtaza	1648	-	-
4.	Murad	-	1651	-
5.	Ahmad Beg	1651	1655	2500/2000
6.	Iradat Khan	1655	-	2000/1800
7.	Kamaluddin s/o Dalair Khan	10 Nov.1689	-	-
8.	Mansur Beg (Shah Quli)	Dec.1692	-	1000/500(500x2-3h)
9.	Khudabanda Khan	23 Nov.1693	-	1000/1500 (500x2-3h)
10.	Mukarmat Khan	17 June1694	-	1500/1500(5x2-3h)
11.	Hamid Khan Bahadur	-	-	-
12.	Rajab Khan Khushgi	Bahadur Shah's reign	-	2000/1800

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1. Lahori,Vol. I, pt. II, p.243; Maasir-ul Umara, Vol.I,p. 210.
2. Amal-i Salih, Vol. II, p. 250.
3. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. III, p. 481.
4. Amal-i Salih, Vol. III, p. 130.
5. Amal-i Salih, Vol. III, p. 130.
6. Maasir-ul Umara, Vol. I, p. 203; Waris, Vol.II, p.261, Amal-i Salih, Vol. III, p. 189.
7. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, f. 115.
8. Ibid., f. 36/31.
9. Ibid., f. 37/27.

Faujdar of Bilgram

1. Mukarmat Khan	17 June 1694	-	1500/1500(500x2-3h)
2. Rayandaz Khan	-	27 July 1700	-
3. Lachha Burhan	27 July 1700	-	400/200

Faujdar of Sandila

1. Shaikh Gulam Mohiuddin	1661	-	-

Faujdar of Bari

1. Raja Kallan Singh	1 Sept.1694	-	-

Faujdar of Gopamanu

1. Saiyid Abdul Muktadar	9 Dec.1694	-	-

Faujdar of Fatehpur Bahrar

1. Mohd. Bazid	-	1706	-
2. Zanil Abdin s/o Murid Khan	1706	-	600/880

Faujdar of Daryabad

1. Mohd. Sharif	-	1695	400/170
2. Askar Khan	20April 1695	-	-

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1. *Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla*, f. 38/275.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 44/161.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 44/161.

1. *Allahabad Document*, No. 375.
1. Allahabad Document,

1. *Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla*, f.38/103.
1. *Ibid.*, 38/171.
1. *Ibid.*, f. 31.
2. *Ibid.*,
1. *Ibid.*, f. 40/31.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 38/221.

CHAPTER - III

AGRICULTURE

Since times immemorial Awadh has been a land of great fertility, productivity and plenty. Its rich alluvial soil, abundent water resources provided by its big rivers like the Ghagara, Gomti, Sai, Rapti, Gandak and the out-flanking Ganges, its forest reserves supplying much raw material to its industries and its fruit orchards together with its favourable climatic conditions, made the region one of the coveted possessions of the Mughal Empire. In point of general breakup relating to amount of production and fertility in Mughal Awadh, the *sarkar* of Lucknow with some adjoining regions was favoured by nature while "the amount of cultivation north of the Ghagara was very small, while between the Ghagara and the Ganga, eastward of a line joining Allahabad and Faizabad, the proportion was less than one-fifth."[1]

According to the description of the physical features of the region by the author of the *Tarikh- Gorakhpur*, there were two kinds of soil favourable to cultivation in the *sarkar* of Gorakhpur. One was the Bangar soil which was moist(*kayawar*) and was useful for the growth of rice. The other was the plain

1. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 21. He arrives at the conclusion that "no definite inference can be drawn from these scanty data, but I am incluned to think that the average of production may have been even less than now in those parts of the province where cultivation had long been established." p. 121.

land which was quite nice for the cultivation of all kinds of food-grains, particularly the wheat and the sugar-cane. The first kind was known as Kachhara. It was well watered and famous for the rabi crops of millet, masoor and peas.

In the sarkar of Gorakhpur, sugar-cane was produced on a small scale, except in the Padrona region. Some parganas were infested with the wild elephants and for fear of damage or hurt by them, black sugar was not grown on an extensive scale. Owing to the fertility of soil in this region sugar-cane yielded double crops from the time of plantation. The sugar produced in this region was sweet and moist variety of sweets were prepared from this sugar.[1]

In pargana Ambodha (in sarkar of Oudh) Rahlaparh (Nagar), Basti, Mahauli, Wheat, Barley, Gram, Jawar, Millet (bajra) pulses, mash, mouth, kodram (a small grain) were grown in great quantity. Shahjahanpur in pargana Silhut and certain tappas of the pargana of hawaili Gorakhpur, and the parganas of Maghar and Majhauli the land and the climate favoured the growth of all kinds of rabi and kharif harvests, while some other parganas like Bansi, Rasulpur Ghosi as well as the parganas of mountanous country and certain other tappas of Gorakhpur were famous for various kinds of crops in every season. Certain tappas of Bansi like Bakharha,

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1. Tarikh-i Gorakhpur, f. 12b.

Sarbodi, Barhon, Kasgahi and certain parganas of tarai were noteworthy for some varieties of rice known as Baharni, Sham-i Zira, Raj Hans, Darat, Kol etc., which were sold in Awadh and Lucknow under the name of Bansi.[1]

The agricultural land for rabi harvest in Dharwapara and Anola constituted a large tract. The stapple food of the people from these parganas consisted mainly of the rabi produce and people depended for their livelihood chiefly on their crop. There was scarcity of water in these parganas affecting the kharif harvest and there was always scarcity of food grains in both the harvests. On account of this deficiency, certain tappas of Anola like Bansi, Silhat, Basti, Maghar and Gorakhpur were thinly populated.[2]

Sarkar of Gorakhpur was inferior in cultivable land as compared with the other sarkars. Bayazid Biyat says that there was a dense forest to the north of Gorakhpur.[3] Tavernier mentions that in the north of Gorakhpur, "the whole country is full of forests, where there are numerous wild elephants."[4]

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1. Tarikh-i Gorakhpur, f. 12b.

2. Ibid., f. 12[illegible].

2. Bayazid-Biyat, Tarikh-i Humayun Wa Akbar. After the collapse of the Afghan invasion in 1573 and the rebellion of Yousuf Mohd., Raja Sansar Chand fled in the forest on the north bank of the river Rapti, p. 316.

3. Akbar divided this subah into twelve dusturs(Oudh, Ibrahimabad, Kishni, Bahraich, Firuzabad, Kharonsa, Khairabad, Pali, Bharwarah, Gorakhpur, Lucknow and Onam). The data of Ain-i-Akbari reveals that all dusturs did not grow the same crops and productivity of dasturs differed from each other.

4. Travels in India, vol II, P. 262.

Mufti Ghulam Hazrat describes that the city of Gorakhpur was surrounded on two sides by forests.[1] Sleeman also mentions that "This gives twenty-four belts of jungle beyond the terai forest, and in the fine climate of Oudh covering a space of 886 sq. miles at a rough compulation.[2]" The sarkar of Lucknow was far advanced in fertility as compared with the areas and revenue of other regions during Akbar's reign.[3]

According to Abul Fazl, "Agriculture is in a flourishing state, especially rice of the kinds called Sukhdas, Madhkar and Jhanwan, which for witness, delicacy, fragrance and wholesomeness are scarcely be matched." He further states that the Sukhdas rice from Bahraich was of the best quality which was bought for Diwan-i buyutat by Mir Bakawal every year.[4]

If we compare the cultivated areas given in the Ain with that of Chahar Gulshan, very interesting figures would

1. Tarikh-i Gorakhpur, f. 1a.
2. Sleeman, A Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh, p. 297.
3. A'in, I (Block), p. 60.
4. A'in, Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 181, Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, p. 44, Mukherji falls into error when he thinks the description of the Khulasat which probably refers to Gorakhpur rice. Economic History of India, p. 7. A'in. therefore is specific in regard with the name of the place as compared Khulasat and therefore more convencing.

emerge. The cultivated area of Khairabad increased very rapidly while the *sarkars* of Bahraich and Awadh were comparatively slow in progress.

Area in *bighas* of *Subah* Awadh(from the *Ain* and *Chahar Gulshan*).

Subah of Awadh	Increase
1594 A.D., 1,01,71,180	8851728
1720 A.D., 1,90,22,908	
Sarkar of Awadh	
1594 A.D., 27,96,207	1587662 Increase
1720 A.D., 43,83,869	
Sarkar of Bahraich	
1594 A.D., 18, 23, 435	9289435 "
1720 A.D. 27, 52, 376	
Sarkar of Khairabad	
1594 A.D., 19, 87, 700	4558753 "
1720 A.D., 65, 46, 453	
Sarkar of Lucknow	
1594 A.D., 33, 07, 426	2063474 "
1720 A.D., 53, 70, 900	

Sarkar of Gorakhpur

1594 A.D., 2, 44, 283

1720 A.D. data is not available.[1]

The Main Crops of the Subah: There were fifty crops in the *subah*, of them 21 were cultivated in the spring and 29 in the autumn.

Rabi Crops - (1) Persian Muskmelons (The maximum rate of demand per bigha on Persian muskmelons were, 230-4 *dams* in the *dastur* of Ibrahimabad and minimum rate was 110-20 *dams* in the *dastur* of Bahraich. (2) Poppy (The maximum rate of demand on poppy was 156-13 *dams* in the *dastur* of Kishni and minimum rate was 115-20 *dams* in the *dastur* of Ibrahimabad. (3) Onions (The maximum rate on per bigha was 80-18 *dams* in the *dastur* of Ibrahimadab and minimum rate was 78-0 *dams* in the *dastur* of Oudh). (4) Safflower (The maximum rate of demand on per bigha was 83-21 *dams* in the *dastur* of Kishni and minimum rate was 69-8 *dams* in the *dastur* of Firuzabad). (5) Ajwain (The maximum rate of demand was 97-5 *dams* in *dastur* of Ibrahimabad and minimum rate of demand was 79-10 *dams* in the

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1. Jadunath Sarkar has made a number of mistakes in translating the *raqmi* figures, while he wrongly puts the *Chahar-Gulshan's* figures relating to Lucknow for Gorakhpur. (Bahraich, 27, 52, 378, Khairabad, 65, 50,46, 458, Lucknow, 53, 84, 601, *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 137.

One set of crop. rates was fixed for a group of <u>parganas</u>, or sometimes for a single pargana; this set of rate was the <u>dastur</u>. Moreland and Yousuf, <u>Akbar's Land-revenue System as described in the Ain-i Akbari</u>, p. 36; Irfan Habib <u>Agrarian System of Mughal India</u>, p. 202. Beams writes," The <u>Dasturs</u>, which appear to have been somewhat similar to Modern District. p. 231. <u>Subah</u> of Awadh was divided into twelve <u>dasturs</u>. <u>Sarkar</u> Awadh was divided into three <u>dasturs</u> out of twenty-one <u>mahals</u>, two <u>mahals</u> were included in Khairabad. All the rest <u>mahals</u> except two form the first <u>dastur</u>, Ibrahimabad alone forms the second <u>dastur</u> and Kishni was the third <u>dastur</u>. <u>Sarkar</u> Bahraich was also divided into three <u>dasturs</u>, Kahronsa alone forms the first <u>dastur</u>, Sultanpur and Firozabad were the second <u>dastur</u> and the rest <u>mahals</u> form the third <u>dastur</u>. <u>Sarkar</u> Khairabad was divided into three <u>dasturs</u>. First <u>dastur</u> consisted of Haveli, Bisara, Biswah, Basrah, Chitiupur, Khairigarh, Sadupur, Kheri, Karkhila, Laharpur, Machhrahta, and Hargaon. The second dastur consisted of Pali, Barwar, Anjana, Bawan, Sundi, Sarah, Gopamau and Nimkar, and Bhurwarah and Paila formed the third <u>dastur</u>. <u>Sarkar</u> Gorakhpur forms the one <u>dastur</u>. <u>Sarkar</u> Lucknow consisted of two <u>dasturs</u>, first <u>dastur</u> consisted of Unam, Bilgram, Bangarmau, Hardoi, Sultanpur, Fatihpur-Chaurari, Kachhand and Malawah and the rest formed the second <u>dastur</u>.

dastur of Kishni. Potherbs (The maximum rate of demand on per *bigha* was 76-1 *dams* in the *dastur* of Ibrahimabad and minimum rate of demand was 54-20 *dams* in the *dastur* of Firuzabad. Fenugreek (The maximum rate of demand in the *dastur* of Firuzabad was 78-20 *dams* and manimum rate of demand was 54-20 *dams* in Ibrahimabad. Barley (The maximum rate of demand was 45-21 *dams* in the *dastur* of Ibrahimabad and manimum rate of demand was 35-20 in the *dastur* of Firuzabad. Wheat, the maximum rate of demand was 62-15 *dams* in the *dastur* of Ibrahimabad and manimum rate of demand was 54-20 *dams* in the *dastur* of Oudh and Bahraich. Kur-rice, the maximum rate of demand was 46-24 *dams* in the *dastur* of Ibrahimabad and manimum rate of demand was 44-13 *dams* in the *dastur* of Firuzabad.

Kharif Crops: Sugar-cane(paundah) The maximum rate of demand on per *bigha* was 240-9 *dams* in the *dasturs* of Oudh. Bahraich, Lhuronia, Bharwarah and Gorakhpur and manimum rate of demand was 203-15 in the *dastur* of Firuzabad. Common Sugar-cane , the maximum rate of demand was 190-15 *dams* in the *dasturs* of Oudh and Bharwarah and manimum rate of demand was 123-0 in the dasturs of Ibrahimabad, Bahraich, Kharonsa and Gorakhpur. Pan, the maximum rate of demand was 260-3 dams in the *dastur* of Ibrahimabad and nimum rate of demand was ~~260-8 dams in the dastur of Ibrahimabad and minimum rate of~~

223-15 in the *dasturs* of Bahraich, Firuzabad and Kharonsa. Cotton, The maximum rate of demand was 93-23 *dams* in the *dasturs* of Ibrahimabad, Pali and Onam and manimum rate of demand was 83-21 in the *dasturs* of Oudh and Bharwarah. Dark coloured rice, The maximum rate of demand was 74-20 *dams* in the *dastur* of Lucknow and manimum rate of demand was 62-5 in the *dastur* of Bahraich. Mung, The Maximum rate of demand was 48-2 *dams* in the *dastur* of Ibrahimabad and manimum rate of demand was 41-2 in the *dastur* of Bahraich. Common rice, The maximum rate of demand was 46-24 *dams* in the *dasturs* of Ibrahimabad and Onam and manimum rate of demand was 40-6 *dams* in the dasturs of Bahraich, Kharonsa and Gorakhpur. Sisame Seed, The maximum rate of demand was 45-21 *dams* in the *dastur* of Khairabad and manimum rate of demand was 40-20 *dams* in the *dastur* of Lucknow. Singharah, The maximum rate of demand was 115-8 in the dasturs of Oudh, Ibrahimabad, Kishni, Bahraich, Firuzabad and Kharonsa Jowari (Millet). The maximum rate of demand was 38-0 dams in the dasturs of Ibrahimabad, Bahraich and Gorakhpur and manimum rate of demand was 32-15 in the *dasturs* of Pali and Onam.

The principal crops of both the harvests have been laid down to study the volume and pattern of cultivation and agricultural activity of the different *dasturs*. In the Table smallest number denotes the lowest fertile area while the highest number denotes the highest fertile area.

Rabi Crops Areas with regard to production of a particular crop in ascending order.

Kur rice (1) Firuzabad (2) Bahraich (3) Kharansah (3) Ibrahimabad (4) Kishni.

Wheat (1) Suburbans district of Oudh (1) Bahraich (2) Firuzabad (2) Kharonsah (3) Kishni (4) Ibrahimabad.

Barley (1) Firuzabad (2) Kharonsah (2) Bahraich (3) Oudh (4) Kishni (5) Ibrahimabad.

Fenugreek (1) Ibrahimabad (2) Oudh (3) Bahraich (3) Kishni (4) Firuzabad.

Potherbs (1) Firuzabad (2) Bahraich (2) Kharansah (3) Kishni (4) Oudh (5) Ibrahimabad.

Ajwain (1) Kishni (2) Kharansah (3) Bahraich (4) Firuzabad (4) Ibrahimabad.

Safflowr (1) Firuzabad (2) Oudh (2) Bahraich (2) Kharansah (3) Ibrahimabad (4) Kishni.

Onions (1) Oudh (2) Bahraich (2) Firuzabad (2) Kharansah (2) Kishni (4) Ibrahimabad.

Poppy (1) Firuzabad (2) Bahraich (2) Kharansah (3) Kishni (4) Oudh (5) Ibrahimabad.

Persian Muskmelons (1) Bahraich (2) Oudh (2) Firuzabad (3) Kharansah (4) Kishni (5) Ibrahimabad.

Kharif Harvest:

Jowari (millet)	(1) Pali (1) Onam (2) Firuzabad (3) Khairabad (3) Lucknow (4) Bahrwarah (5) Kishni (6) Oudh (7) Ibrahimabad (7) Bahraich (7) Kharonsah (7) Gorakhpur.
Singharah	(1) Oudh (1) Ibrahimabad (1) Kishni (1) Bahraich (1) Firuzabad (1) Kharansah.
Seesam Seed	(1) Ibrahimabad (2) Lucknow (3) Bahraich (4) Pali (4) Onam (4) Oudh (5) Kishni (6) Bahraich (6) Kharansah (6) Gorakhpur (7) Firuzabad (8) Khairabad.
Common rice	(1) Bahraich (1) Kharonsa (1) Gorakhpur (2) Firuzabad (2) Khairabad (3) Kishni (4) Oudh (5) Bharwarah (6) Lucknow (7) Ibrahimabad (7) Onam (7) Pali.
Mung	(1) Bahraich (2) Kharansa (2) Pali (2) Onam (3) Gorakhpur (4) Budh (4) Firuzabad (4) Khairabad (4) Bharwarah (4) Lucknow (5) Ibrahimabad (6) Kishni.
Dark Colour rice	(1) Bahraich (2) Kharonsa (2) Gorakhpur (3) Firuzabad (4) Khairabad (5) Oudh (5) Bharwarah (6) Ibrahimabad (6) Kishni (7) Pali (7) Onam (8) Lucknow.
Cotton	(1) Oudh (1) Bharwarah (2) Firuzabad (3) Bahraich (3) Kharonsa (3) Khairabad (3) Gorakhpur (4) Kishni (5) Lucknow (6) Ibrahimabad (6) Pali (6) Onam

Pan	(1) Bahraich (1) Firuzabad (1) Kharonsa
	(2) Oudh (3) Kishni (4) Ibrahimabad.
Common Sugar-cane	(1) Ibrahimabad (1) Bahraich (1) Kharonsa
	(1) Gorakhpur (2) Kishni (3) Lucknow (4) Onam
	(5) Pali (6) Firuzabad (6) Khairabad (7) Oudh
	(7) Bharwarah.
Sugar-cane (Paundah)	(1) Firuzabad (2) Khairabad (3) Ibrahimabad
	(4) Kishni (5) Pali (5) Lucknow (6) Onam
	(7) Oudh (7)mBahraich (7) Kharonsah
	(7) Bharwarah (7) Gorakhpur.

It would appear that a certain group of <u>dasturs</u> formed a block with the same kind of crops, for instance, pan was grown in the <u>dasturs</u> of Bahraich, Firuzabad, Kharonsa, Oudh, Kishni and Ibrahimabad. Singhara crop also formed a block with the same efficiency of productivity in each <u>dastur</u> for instance Oudh, Ibrahimabad, Kishni, Bahraich, Firuzabad and Kharonsa.

We have selected ten principal crops from each <u>Rabi</u> and <u>Kharif</u> harvests to study the harvestwise efficiency of each <u>dasturs</u>. The data supplied in the Ain reveals that the <u>kharif</u> harvest (40-7) was higher than <u>Rabi</u> (14.6) harvest. The table also indicates that the rabi crops in the <u>dasturs</u> of Oudh, Firuzabad and Kharansah (1.9) were the lowest fertile area. In the <u>kharif</u> harvest Oudh was the highest (4.1) while

the *dasturs* of Bahraich and Gorakhpur (1.9) were the lowest of agricultural product.

Average Agricultural Efficiency of the Subah
Harvest-wise *Rabi* and *Kharif*.

Rabi[1]			Kharif		
Sl. No.	*Dasturs*	Respective position of fertility	Sl. No.	*Dasturs*	Respective position of fertility
1.	Oudh	1.9	1.	Bahraich	2.9
2.	Firuzabad	1.9	2.	Firuzabad	2.9
3.	Kharansah	1.9	3.	Gorakhpur	2.9
4.	Bahraich	2.1	4.	Khairabad	3-
5.	Kishni	3.3	5.	Kharonsa	3.1
6.	Ibrahimabad	3.5	6.	Pali	3.5
			7.	Onam	3.5
			8.	Bharwarah	3.6
			9.	Lucknow	3.6
			10.	Kishni	3.7
			11.	Ibrahimabad	3.9
			12.	Oudh	4.1
	Total	14.6		Total	40.7
	Average	2.4.3		Average	3.3.3916

1. Data is not available the rabi harvest of six *dasturs* (Gorakhpur, Khairabad, Pali, Onam, Bharwarah and Lucknow).

Akbar's favourable attitude inspired the cultivators. According to Abul Fazl, "Owing to the right-thinking of the world's lord, things became cheap, and on this account the government share pressed rather hardly on the cultivators. H.M. remitted in the province of Allahabad, Oudh and Delhi on 5½ shares of the spring crop, and one-fith share in the havali of Allahabad. For the autumn crop, he remitted one-sixth in the province of Allahabad and Oudh."[1] He further remarked that, "on account of the extent of cultivation, and the efficiency of the administration, prices fell very low, and many cultivators were unable to pay the government revenue. In the provinces of Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Delhi and the sarkars of Saharanpur and Budaon, one-eight was remitted and in sarkars Sirhind and Hisar one-tenth. In the khalsa this came to 7 krors, 97 lakhs, 81 thousands and eight hundreds dams."[2]

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1. Akbarnamah, Vol. III, p. 699.
2. Ibid., Vol. III, p. 875.

AGRICULTURAL EFFICIENCY OF THE SUBAH OF AWADH. RABI (SPRING HARVEST)

Dasturs	Persian Muskmelons	Pappy	Onions	Safflower	Pothers	Wheat	Fenu-greek	Barley	Ajwain	Kur rice	to-tal	Average
	D - J	D - J	D - J	D - J	D - J	D - J	D - J	D - J	D - J	D ½ J		
	2	4	1	2	4	1	2	3				
1. Oudh	115 - 20	127 - 15	78 - 0	71 - 14	69 - 9	54 -20	55 - 22	39 - 3			19	1.9
	5	1	4	3	5	4	1	5	4 [illegible]	3		
2. Ibrahimabad	230 - 4	115 - 20	80 -18	72 - 0	761-	62 -15	545 - 21	45 -21	[illegible]	46-24	35	3.5
	4	5	3	4	3	3	3	4	1	3		
3. Kishni	150 - 1	156 - 3	79 -10	83 - 21	68- 5	58 - 4	58 - 4	42 -12	79-10	46-24	33	3.3
	1	3	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	2		
4. Bahraich	110 - 2	127 -12	78 - 7	71 - 14	56-12	54-20	58 - 4	38 - 0	83-21	45-21	21	2.1
	2	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	3	1		
5. Firuzabad	115 -20	127-11	78 - 7	69 - 8	54-20	55-23	78 -20	35 -20	83-21	44-18	19	1.9
	3	2	2	2	2	2		2	2	2		
6. Kharansah	115 -30	127-11	78 - 7	71 - 4	56-12	55-20	--	38 - 0	82- 4	45- 4	19	1.9

CHAPTER IV

THE LAND REVENUE

The Land Revenue System:

There were different methods of revenue assessment during the Mughal period.[1] In the *subah* of Awadh *zabt* was the most important and widely spread system of assessment.[2]

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1. The methods of assessment as described by contemporary sources are *nasq*, *zabt*, *kankut*, *bhaoli* etc., *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 199.

2. Sri Ram Sharma writes that Awadh was entirely under *zabt* system. *Assessment and Collection of the Land Revenue Under Akbar*, I.H.Q., Vol. XIV, 1938, p. 716; Moreland and Yousuf write that "the entry of Oudh, Agra, Delhi, Lahore and Malwa supports the conclusion already drawn that these *subahs* were under the *zabt* system since *dasturs* are an essential part of it, and do not appear under any alternative system. Art. No. 64, p. 36. They further admit that the *zabt* system prevailed throughout this *subah* (Awadh) but a few *parganas* in Gorakhpur may have paid through *zamindars*. Art. No. 64, p. 60; N.A. Siddiqi assert that "in Awadh and Allahabad the common method of assessment seems to have been *zabt*", p. 56. Irfan Habib admits "As the 19 year Rates Show, the *zabt* system continued in most of the provinces of Hindustan (Agra, Allahabad, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore and Multan) during early years of Akbar." p. 220.

It would appear that while zabt was the major system of revenue collection in this subah, other methods were also prevailing in certain regions. Measurement of land was an essential feature of zabt system. But according to Ghulam Hazrat the whole sarkar of Gorakhpur was never brought under measurement during the Mughal period. It was measured only as late as in 1212 fasli year. He further writes that there was no uniform system of revenue assessment. It depended on the fertility of soil, weather and other conditions of the region. In this sarkar the raiyat paid the government dues in a lump sum, in the form of the muqtai, or fixed revenue.[1] Chahar Gulshan gives, a list of measured and unmeasured mahals of the subah of Awadh. Sarkar of Lucknow consisted of 57 mahals, out of which three mahals were still unmeasured, while the sarkar Gorakhpur has been left over in a unclassified column, implying that it was outside the pale of the measured lands in the sarkar of Gorakhpur. The sarkar of Bahraich contained eight mahals, four of which were unmeasured. In sarkar of Khairabad only one mahal remained unmeasured. In the sarkar of Awadh Chaturman has

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1. Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp.233n, 235-6.

not provided any column for unmeasured mahals which suggests that all the *mahals* of *sarkar* Awadh were measured.[1] These statistics provide positive evidence to the effect the whole *subah* was not measured and the method of collection varied from *mahal* to *mahal*.

The whole *sarkar* of Gorakhpur was under the system of *muqtai*, while in other *sarkars zabt* was the major method of revenue assessment and collection. N.A. Siddiqui writes, "in the early 19th century in *sarkar* Bahraich in Awadh, the prevalent systems of assessment were *naqdi* and *kankut*."[2]

In the *zabti mahals* land-revenue demand was more than one-third, in other *mahals* where *zabt* system was not prevailing, there was no uniform system of land-revenue demand. *Zabt* was the main system of revenue assessment but other system were also in operation, such for example *kankut*, *naqdi*, *muqtai* etc.

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1. *Chahar Gulshan*, f.81a.

2. *Dastur-ul Amal-i Mahdi Ali Khan*, cited by N.A. Siddiqui p.56; *Kankut*: *kan* in the Hindi language signifies grain and *kut*, estimate. The whole land in taken either --by actual measurement or by placing it, and the standing crops estimated in the balance of inspection. The experimenced in these matter say that this comes with short of mark. If any doubt arise, the crops should be cut and estimated in three lots, the good, the middling and the inferior, and the hesitation remound. *Ain*., Vol. I, p.

Magnitude of the Land-revenue demand:

The land revenue was the chief source of income of the Mughal Empire. An attempt is made in this section to examine the magnitude of the state-share in the agricultural produce of the subah of Awadh under the Mughals. Abul Fazl remakrs "the revenue levied by Sher Khan, which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment generally obtained, and for the convenince of the cultivators and the soldiers, the value was taken in ready money."[1] Akbar accepted Sher Shah's rate and fixed one third of the actual yield of the soil as state demand.[2] Abul Fazl in fact fixes no limit as to the amount

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1. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 207.

2. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. II, p. 7 ; Qanungo writes "The holding of every rayiat was separately measured and one-fourth of the expected produce was assessed as the government demand, Sher Shah, pp. 373-74; Moreland asserts "that one share was to be given to the cultivator and half a share to the headmen, presumably as representing the state, and this would mean a claim one-third of the produce, Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 76; P. Saran writes, " the incidence of revenue which was one-third under Sher Shah was continued unchanged, Provincial Government of the Mughal, p. 297; I.H. Qureshi says "It was Akbar who first demanded a third of the produce." Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, p.118; Irfan Habib assert, that the state demand exceeded one-third of the produce." Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 192; N.A. Siddiqui writes "in areas where cash rates were in use, the land-revenue demand exceeded one-third of the produce," Land-revenue Administration under the Mughals, p. 47; Manucci says that the officials ask the cultivators whether they are willing to give a half or a third more than they have contracted for the beginning

(Contd. on next page ....

the peasants should pay to the emperor in return for the protection etc.; which the ruler extended to the people. According to him "If the whole of a man's possession were spent for the protection of his honour, it would be but fitting if in gratitude he further pledged in whole credit, how much more when it is a question of the guardianship of the four great elements of state policy."[1] Abūl Fazl considered the state operation should be extended to ensure" a perfect propriety and also to be universally in vogue" because they were taken after due deliberation and were meant to subserve the interests of justice."[2]

Among the modern historians, a lot of controversy has arisen as to the magnitude of the land-revenue demand. This chapter is an attempt to make an inquiry into the actual working of the state demand in the subah of Awadh. It would appear that government demand varied from ~~each~~ sarkar to

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Continued from previous page ......

of the year, Vol. III, p. 46; Bernier comments, "For the people of India never pay without being forced, and collect half the total quality of supplies that they are under obligation to pay to the Crown," Vol. II, p. 450.

1. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 202.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 203.

sarkar. Government demand depended on the condition and fertility of the soil, irrigation facilities, form of labour and manure. In the subah of Awadh where zabti system was in operation, government demand was more than one-third as examined by Irfan Habib on the basis of documents of four villages (in pargana Husampur of sarkar Bahraich) during the period 1672-88.[2] But it is difficult to accept it as an index to the whole subah. Ghulam Hazrat the author of Tarikh-i Gorakhpur, a 19th century work gives a specific example of sarkar Gorakhpur where no uniform system of revenue demand existed. Most of the villages of this sarkar were depopulated. In the first settlement-report government demand was levied from five rupees to twenty rupees from each village. Later on the government

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1. Moreland and Yousuf write that in the zabt system the land was measured and then a schedule was prepared, Akbar's Land-revenue System as Described in the Ain-i-Akbari, p. 36; The land was classified into three classes. The first class of soil was called polaj, which used to be under continuous cultivation. The middle class of soil was called parauti, represent the land which was occasionally left uncultivated. When it was cultivated full government demand was levied on it but when left fallow, nothing was taken. The third class of soil was called Chachar land which was left for three and four years out of cultivation and bunjar was left more than five years. In the latter of the land government demand increased gradually. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 207. Moreland and Yousuf, pp. 43-44.

2. Indian Economic and Social History Review, June 1967, p. 208.

demand was fixed and at only two rupees out of one hundred rupees. This was an incentive to the peasant for cultivation. However, revenue rates appealed to the peasants and they settled in the villages and the villages again flourished. But still some tappas of Basti, Silhat and Gorakhpur were sparsely populated, and in the tappas government realised only two annas in a rupee.[1]

If we compare Ain's figures with those given in Kaghzat-i Mutafarriqa, it would be ~~revealed~~ found that in most of the parganas of subah Awadh, jamadani had increased rapidly. In the sarkar of Lucknow, the pargana where the revenue was most enhanced was Mohan while the revenue of Baangarmau, Ranburpur, Sidhor, Lucknow and Marona had declined as compared to the revenue figures of Akbar's reign. In sarkar of Khairabad the highest enhancement of revenue was in the pargana of Baron Anjnah while Gopemau showed slightly decreasing trend in jamadani. In the sarkar of Bahraich the jamadani of pargana Bahraich had increased steeply. In the sarkar of Awadh the highest increase in revenue was in the pargana of Daryabad. In sarkar Gorakhpur the highest jamadani was recorded in the pargana of Rahli.

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1. Tarikh-i Gorakhpur, f. 15b.

The *jamadami* of the *subah* of Awadh during Akbar's reign was 20, 17, 58, 172 *dams*[1] which rose in Jahangir's reign to a figure equivalent to 22, 98, 65, 014 *dams*.[2] In Shahjahan's reign it was 25, 82, 10, 000 *dams*[3] and Aurangzeb's reign saw a further increased enhancement equalling to 32, 13, 17, 119 *dams*.[4]

Ain's statistics reveal that in *sarkar* Awadh ~~pe~~[5] revenue demand per *bigha* varied from 2 *dams* (*sarwapati*), to 52 *dams* in the *pargana* Awadh. In *sarkar* Bahraich per *bigha* revenue varied from 3 *dams* (Sultanpur) to 46 *dams* (Kharosa) while in *sarkar* Khairabad revenue demand ranged from 3 *dams* per *bigha* (Hurgaron) to 77 *dams* (Khankut Man).

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1. *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 79.
2. *Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri*, Vol. II, f. 463.
3. *Dastur al Amali Ilm-i Navisindgi*, f. 145; *Farhang-i-Kardani*, f. 20a.
4. *Zawabit-i Alamgiri*, f. 4; Jugiwandas, p. 52.
5. It is very hard to believe that the *pargana* Sarwapati can ever have had anything like the area given, or that it paid only 2 *dams* a *bigha*, and same is the case with other *parganas*, such as Sultanpur, Hargaron and Isauli. Moreland also doubted the statistics of *subah* Awadh "the figures for the Oudh *Sarkar* are as a whole the most puzzling in Northern India, *The Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire*, *The Journal of the United Province Historical Society*, June 1919, Vol. II, p. 38.

In *sarkar* Lucknow revenue demand rose from 1 *dam* per *bigha* (Sahali). The statistics of *sarkar* Gorakhpur is very unrealistic since it was the most backward, but its statistics reveal that per *bigha* revenue demand was higher in comparision to other *sarkars*.

The following table gives the revenue statistics of the *subah* in different years.

Sources	Year	*Jamadani* in rupees	Proportion with *A'ins* figure as base of 100
1. *Ain-i Akbari*, p. 79.	1595-6	5043954	100
2. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, f. 463.	1605	5746625	114
3. *Farhangi Kardani*, f. 20a.	1633-38	6455450	128
4. Lahori, *Badshahnamah*, Vol. II, p.	1647	7500000	149
5. *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, Vol. I, p. 672.	1646	7500000	149
6. *Shahjahan Nama*, Salah Kunbu, Vol. II, p. 558.	1646	7500000	149
7. *Bernier*, Vol. II, 450.	1638-56	6830000	135
8. *Thevenot*, p. 87.	" "	6675000	132
9. *Dastur-al Amali-Ilm-i Navisindagi*, f. 145.	" "	6455250	128

10. Sujan Rai, p. 44.	1638-56	6613500	131
11. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 413-15.	" "	7200000	142
12. *Farhan-i Kardani*, f. 20a.	" "	6455450	128
13. *Dastur-al Amal-i-Navisindagi*.	1646-56	6830000	135
14. *Dastur-al Amal-i-Shahjahani*, p. 37.	1638-58	6989497	138
15. *Dastur-al Amal-i-Alamgiri*, f. 119a.	1656	9088773	180
16. *Mirat-al Alam*, f. 215a.	1666	8001804	158
17. *Zawabit-i Alamgiri*, f. 4.	1691	8032927	159
18. Jagivandas, p.52.	1700	8032927	159
19. *Chahar Gulshan*.	1720	8310015	164
20. *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, p. 150.	--	6510100	129
21. *Dastur-ul Amal*	--	5530445	109
22. *Halat-i Mumalik-i-Mahrwa-i Alamgiri*, p. 131.	--	5532927	109
23. *Dastur-ul Amal* Munshi Thakur Lal, p. 30.	--	6989490	138
24. *Majmua-i Faramin*, p. 83.	--	6830000	135
25. *Kaghzat-i-Mutafarriqa*	--	9963853	197

1. The actual figure given in the *Farhang-i Kardani* in MS Aligarh, 25,82,1800 *dams* but Irfan Habib's figure is 25,82,10,000 *dams* which seems to be incorrect. *Agrarian* System of Mughal India, p. 397.

The Table Showing the Revenue per Bigha (in *dams*)

During Akbar's Reign.

Sarkars	*Parganas*	Revenue per *bigha*
Sarkar Awadh	-	14
"	Awadh with Subarban dist.	52
"	Anbodha	4.6
"	Ibrahimabad	23
"	Anhona	17
"	Pachhamrath	15
"	Bilehri	51
"	Basodhi	16
"	Thanah Bhadaon	49
"	Baktha	8.6
"	Daryabad	11
"	Rudauli	9.2
"	Silak	8.2
"	Sultanpur	50
"	Satanpur	20
"	Subeha	15
"	Sarwapali	2
"	Satrileh	30
"	Gawarchak	5
"	Kishni	22
"	Mangalsi	12
"	Naipur	15

Sarkar	Parganas/	Revenue
Sarkar Bahraich	-	13
"	Bahraich with Suburban dist.	13
"	Bahrah	40
"	Husampur	30
"	Dangdon	5.2
"	Rajhut	4
"	Sanjhauli	7
"	Sultanpur	3
"	Fakhrpur	16
"	Firozabad	18
"	Fort of Nawagarh	5
"	Khuronsa	46
Sarkar Khairabad	-	22
"	Baron Anjnah	32
"	Bahiwah	26
"	Pali	13
"	Bawan	21
"	Basra	X
"	Bharwarah	49
"	Baisarabag	13
"	Pila	49
"	Chhatyarpur	27

"	Kharabad with Suburban dist.	14
"	Sandi	14
"	Sarah	30
"	Sadrpur	7
"	Gopamau	52
"	Kheri	12
"	Khairigarh	42
"	Kharkhela	30
"	Khankat Mau	77
"	Laharpur	15
"	Machharhatta	30
"	Nimkhar	61
"	Hurgaon	3
Sarkar Lucknow	-	24
"	Amethi	26
"	Unam	33
"	Isauli	3
"	Asiyun	14
"	Asoha	20
"	Unchahgaon	13
"	Bilgram	27
"	Bangarmau	16
"	Bijnor	31
"	Bari	16
"	Barimau	30

"	Pangwan	12
"	Betholi	21
"	Punhan	31
"	Parsand an	26
"	Patan	38
"	Barashakor	17
"	Jahalotar	18
"	Dewi	22
"	Deorakh	52
"	Dadrah	7
"	Runbarpur	32
"	Ramkot	27
"	Sandilah	27
"	Saipur	67
"	Sarosi	48
"	Satanpur	16
"	Sahali	53
"	Sidhor	47
"	Sidhpur	54
"	Sandi	50
"	Saron	38
"	Fatehpur	16
"	Fatehpur-Chaurori	9
"	Garh Anbhatti	38
"	Kursi	21

"	Kakori	36
"	Khanjrah	37
"	Ghatampur	20
"	Kachhandan	20
"	Goranda	70
"	Konbhi	45
"	Lucknow with Suburban dist.	19
"	Lashkar	X
"	Malihabad	26
"	Malawah	43
"	Mohan	33
"	Maraon	25
"	Madiaon	23
"	Mahonah	19
"	Makraed	32
"	Harha	15
"	Hurdoi	30
"	Hunhar	25
Sarkar Gorakhpur	-	49
"	Atraula	44
"	Anhaula	49
"	Binaikpur	43
"	Banbhanpurah	62
"	Banwaparah	50
"	Telpur	44

"	Chiluparah	188?
"	Daryapurah	48
"	Dewaparah	44
"	Rihli	49
"	Rasulpur	148
"	Ramgarh	45
"	Gorakhpur with Suburban dist.	45
"	Kutihla	-
"	Kuhlapurah	27
"	Mahauli	245
"	Mandwah	237
"	Mandlah	40
"	Maghur & Ratanpur	52

Sarkar Awadh

Parganas	Ain-i Akbri.	Kaghzat-i-Mutufarriqa	Increasement
Awadh	2,008,366	33,85,391	13,77,025
Anbodha	1298724	2645000	13,46276
Ibrahimabad	445417	1583774	1138357
Anhona	1268470	1652850	384380
Pachhamrath	4247104	5261231	1014127
Bilehri	815831	1350540	534709
Basodhi	505473	1182482	677009
Thanah Bhadaon	427509	821200	393791
Daryabad	5369521	6619165	12496314
Rundauli	3248680	6377420	3128740
Silak	4723209	761180	3962029 decrease
Sultanpur	1600741	2514800	914059
Subeha	1609293	2432419	823126
Gawarchak	377341	3925540	3548199
Kishni	1339286	1415570	751284
Naipur	308788	725000	416212
Mangabi	1360753	2553455	1192702
Baktha	385008	821200	436192
Satrikh	1126295	1914800	788505

Sarkar Bahraich

Parganas	Ain-i-Akbari	Kaghzat-i-Mitufarriqa	Increasement
Bahraich	9139141	10099645	9604914
Bahrah	37135	50000	12865
Husampur	4707035	5900358	1193323
Rajhat	166780	200000	332110
Sanjhauli	877007	900000	22993
Sultanpur	166001	300000	133999
Fakhrpur	3157876	6927412	3769536
Firozabad	1933079	3262332	1329253
Fort of Nawagarh	2140858	5401500	3260642
Kharonsa	1315051	3204000	888949
Dangdon	440542	700000	259458

Sarkar Khairabad

Parganas	Ain-i-Akbari	Kaghzat-i-Mitufarriqa	Increasement
Baron Anjnah	4325237	14007241	9682004
Baswah	3545643	5836888	2291245
Pali	1849270	6620000	4660730
Bawan	1161235	1508000	346765
Basra	--	1498300	--
Bharwarah	435430	5251175	4815745
Basurabag	276066	919292	643226
Pila	48202	1476682	1428480

Chhtyarpur	1476881	1765441	288560
Khairabad	2161234	5723542	3562308
Sundi	3055339	3715000	659661
Sarah	2091983	1952452	139531 decrease
Sudrpur	831175	2181838	1350663
Gopamau	5620466	5597680	22786 decrese
Kheri	3250522	6176509	2925987
Khairigarh	1829328	7425000	5595672
Kharkhela	473727	1075000	601273
Khankut Mau	235656	730000	494344
Lahurpur	3029479	6383302	3353823
Machharhatta	2112176	3195000	1082824
Nimkhar	3566055	5726604	2160549
Hurgaron	200000	1614420	1414420

Sarkar Gorakhpur

Atraula	1397367	3050000	1652633
Anhaula	201120	928000	7268710
Banwapurah	155900	700000	5490910
Chiluparah	289302	765380	476078
Rihli	1618074	177850600	176232526
Rasulpur	622030	2098200	1476170
Ramgarh gori	485943	3160000	2674057
Gorakhpur	567385	794092	226707
Mahauli	618256	2647600	2029344

Mandwah	452321	1557681	1105360
Telpur	400000	1120000	720000

Sarkar Lucknow

Amethi	7076480	4918568	1842088
Unaw	2012372	2342430	330058
Isauli	4208046	2782680	1825366 decrease
Asiyun	830625	2142426	1311801
Asoha	509901	1522335	1012434
Unchahgaon	417957	1780000	1362043
Bilgraon	5124113	5238761	114648
Bangarmau	3802122	694213	3107909 decrease
Bijnor	2505047	5738698	3233651
Bari	1284799	2096200	811401
Betholi	8194	480000	479806
Panhan	267809	780000	512191
Parsandan	237537	371000	133463
Barashahor	163534	670000	506466
Jahalotar	1123176	1953600	830424
Dawi	1933837	3197272	1263435
Deorakh	689536	2050000	1360464
Dadrah	73737	160000	86263
Runbarpur	2425885	454890	1970995 decrease
Ramkot	268099	375000	106901
Sandila	10623901	14424474	37910573
Saipur	2625388	3714145	1088757

Sarosi	1239767	1937000	697233
Satanpur	1028800	3001000	1972200
Sahuli	694707	890826	196115
Sidhor	1692281	700000	992281 decrease
Sidhpur	505018	1120000	714982
Sandi	392313	3168880	2776567
Saron	210316	630000	419684
Fathpur	3161440	1011160	2150280 decrease
Fatehpur ch Chaurosi	3161440	2366860	794580 decrease
Kursi	1693844	3889240	2195396
Kakori	1134432	2511160	1376729
Khanjrah	818472	1800000	981528
Ghutampur	552561	950000	397439
Kachhandan	430596	1710664	1280069
Goranda	334764	1164000	834231
Konbhi	267084	310000	42911
Lucknow	1746771	494044	1241272 7
Malihabad	4479250	5340367	861117
Malawah	3598713	13146061	7547348
Mohan	1996673	5447200	350527
Maraon	1698444	1110000	588444 decrease
Madeuon	1136613	3639331	25025118
Mahonuh	977860	7530445	6552595
Makraed	576200	1110000	533800
Hurha	2450522	4693126	2242604
Hurdoi	359748	975000	615252
Nihur	329735	400000	70265

THE JAMADAMI OF THE SARKARS IN THE SUBAH OF AWADH IN DAMS

Sources	Awadh	Lucknow	Bahraich	Khairabad	Gorakhpur
1. Ain-i Akbari, Vol.II, pp.79,82,81,80.	40,956,347	80,71,6,140	241,205,525	43655,381	11,926790
2. Dastur-al Amal-i-Shahjahani, p.37.	5,20,31,600	10,85,56,025	2,44,16,306	7,00,33000	2,42,41,25
3. Dastur-al Amal-i-Alamgiri, f.119a.	5,87,31,415	13,52,28,283	3,74,75,944	8,9,000,49	4,31,16237
4. Chahar Gulshan,[1] 81a.	5,00,93,945	11,19,13,554	2,51,97,193	8,12,75,850	5,52,00,005
5. Kaghzat-i-Mutafarriqa, p.96.	6,30,41,833	15,72,4,807	3,98,79,179	9,10,9,725	4,39,18,623
6. Dastur-al Amal-Munshi Thakur Lal, p. 30.	5,20,31,300	10,855,60,25	2,44,16,000	7,0,2,33,700	2,43,41,250

1. J.N. Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb had converted the figures of Chahar Gulshan which are not supported by the original MS. He converted the revenue figures of Sarkar Awadh as 5,72,93,615 dams, for Khairabad 8,17,95,850 dams, for Sarkar Bahraich 251,97,173 dams, while he errs in putting the Lucknow figure vis-a-vis Gorakhpur and Gorakhpur figures for Lucknow, as follows for Gorakhpur 11,19,13,684 dams and for Lucknow a total of 5,52,00,005 dams. p. 137.

THE TABLES SHOWING THE SARKARWISE BREAK-UP OF THE STATISTICS GIVEN IN THE AIN-I AKBARI

Sarkars	Cultivated as given in *Ain*.	On actual calculation	Revenue as given in *Ain*.	On actual calculation	*Sayurghal* as given in *Ain*.	On actual calculation	Cavalry as given in *Ain*.	On actual cal.	Infantry given in *Ain*.	On actual cal.
Awadh	2796206-19	2796239-27	40956347	37509674	1680248	1680109	1340	1190	31700	29670
Lucknow	3307426-02	4899766-30	80716160	83635457	4572526	4944241	2680	2670	83450	76700
Bahraich	1823435- 8	1873239-28	24120525	23080525	466482	104582	1170	1170	14000	20600
Khairabad	1987700- 6	1152439-41	43644381	21746455	171342	714066	1160	280	27800	13900
Gorakhpur	244283-13	326432-58	11926790	11886250	51235	55835	1010	650	22000	20000
Total	10157051-72	11682672- 1	201364203	198175768	13143364	8415341	7360	6060	178950	160870

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CHAPTER V

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND REVENUE AND RELATED SOCIAL GROUPS

The Mughal Empire founded by Babur and firmly established and consolidated by the genius of Akbar and his three great successors had an elaborate arrangement of the distribution of the land revenue which counted for the help of the income of the Empire. The administrative set up of the Empire was so devised as to strike a balance among the various segments of the beneficiaries of the revenue with a view to establising the functional organs of the Empire and making them serviceable to the maximum extent to serve the wider interests of the Empire.

The distribution of the land revenue was made on the basis of the four-fold division viz.,(1) the *khalisa* or the land under the direct control, supervision, and administration of the Emperor and the officers working on his behalf (2) the *Jagir* land which was assigned to the nobles in lieu of their salaries on the basis of revenue assessment as they were in the regular employment of the Emperor,(3) the *madad-i ma'ash* land which was granted to holy men,scholars, divines, educational and charitable institutions for their maintenance, some religious officers like the *qazis*, *muftis*, *muhtasibs* and the like in remuneration of services rendered by

them and to reward literary and educational merit. These grants had a peculiar character as they were rent-free and in most cases in perpetuity and were heritable but not alienable. (4) The fourth category consisted of zamindari lands entrusted to the zamindars both in the jagirs and the khalisa who acted as intermediaries to realise the revenue and got specific shares as collection charges.

This arrangement of the distribution of the land revenue brought into being various strata of landed aristocracy representing their respective interests in land, social bearing, clannish and caste groups and became both a source of strength and weakness to the Empire depending on the capacity of the Central organisation in maintaining the homogeniety of the heterogeneous forces composing the edifice of the Empire or letting loose the centrifugal tendencies and the will to self-assertion and self-aggrandisement which was inherent in the racial or caste character of the composing elements of the ruling and landed aristocracy.

The Khalisa Land:

The major part of the territory of the Empire was apportioned as jagir-land; about one-tenth part of the land was granted as syurghal and a small part of the whole formed the khalisa, a land which was directly held by the central

government. The collection of revenue from the khalisa mahals and keeping the accounts of the balances and receipts thereof and supervision of the land assigned for charitable endowments, the fixation and disbursing of salaries to officers of the province according to their status and administering the financial business in relation to the jagirs assigned according to the royal sanads in the nine khiraj (khalsa) sarkars."[1]

In 1583 Akbar appointed four persons to look after the management functioning of the khalisa land.[2] Again in 1592 he divided khalisa-land into four portions, and each portion was entrusted to an able person.[3] The Akbarnamah does not mention the name of subah Awadh in any part. But the last part which is related to Agra, Allahabad, Bengal and Bihar was entrusted to Rai Ram Das. It may be inferred that the subah of Awadh too was included within the scope of this part.

In sarkar Lucknow, the jamadami was 10,85,560,25, out of which 62 lakhs worth of jamadami was put into khalisa. In sarkar Khairabad, the total revenue realisation was 7 karor, crores, 33 lakhs, out of which 48 lakhs was included in khalisa. In

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1. P. Saran, Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. 175.
2. Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 598.
3. Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 924.

sarkar Gorakhpur, the jamadami was 2,47,41,250 out of which 48 lakhs was reserved for khalisa.[1] We have no information regarding the khalisa in sarkars of Awadh and Bahraich.

The Jagir Land:

Jagir land was assigned in lieu of the salary of a mansabdar. We have some information about the frequent transfer of jagirdars in sarkar Awadh, sarkar Lucknow, sarkar Gorakhpur sarkar Bahraich and sarkar Khairabad. In the early years of Akbar's reign Iskandar Khan was assigned jagir in Awadh.[2] Again in 1572 he received Lucknow as his jagir.[3] On 15th October, 1666 Tarbiyat Khan, who was a mansabdar of 3000 zat and 2000 sawar was removed from his rank. The king granted him ten lakh dams (equivalent to 20 thousand rupees) as well as the jagir of Halnanagarabad which was contiguous to Lucknow.[4] On 11 December, 1694 Prince Kambaksh who received jagir was transferred from pargana Siyalkot to pargana Haveli Lucknow in place of Prince Mohd. Azzam who was transferred.[5] In the 2nd regnal year of Shah Alam, the Emperor assigned 75 thousand dams in pargana Manawa sarkar Lucknow to Pir Mohammad, son of Ghulam Husain as his salary.[6] In 1686

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1. Dastur-ul amal-i Shahjahani, f. 37.
2. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. I (Blockmann), p. 395.
3. Ibid., p. 395.
4. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 15 Oct. 1666, f. 113b.
5. Akhbarat-i Darbar Mualla, 38/176 (11 December 1694).
6. Allahabad Document, No. 10.

Aurangzeb re-assigned six lakhs of *dams* worth of *jagir* to Kamaluddin Khan, son of Dalair Khan in *pargana* Shahbad, *sarkar* Khairabad.[1] After the death of Kamal Khan in 1713, Emperor Farruq Siyar re-assigned seven lakh *dams* worth of *jagir* to his son Mohd. Sardar.[2] These conferments show that a hereditary *jagirdari* system developed in the later half of Aurangzeb's reign, which was against the basic principle of *jagirdari* system.

In the later years of Aurangzeb's reign *jagirdars* failed to maitain law and order in their respective areas. For instance Sher Andaz Khan, the *faujdar* of Baiswara sent information to the central government that *pargana* Lucknow Binjore and Sandila remained in the *jagirs* of the Prince and Aziz Khan Rohilla alleging that either owing to avarice or want of strength, they protected the turbulent Mewatis who indulged partly in highway robbery or plundering the towns and creating instability and disorder. The *amils* of the *jagirdars* were engaged in harrasing the villagers and collecting the illegal cesses. The *jagirs* of Azis Khan Rohilla in the *pargana* of Bhainder and Unao had been resumed because his agent, Khudadad Khan, had overrun the aforsaid places

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1. *Framin-i Salatin*, p. 100.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

and plundered the houses of the Saiyids and the Shaikhs.[1] According to the information of the *waqainigar* Abdul Azim Shaikh Abdul Rahmat *savanah-i nigar* and *jagirdar* of *mauza* Ajgain illegally collected cesses in their territories.[2] It appears from the above pieces of evidence that the *jagirdars* were not maintaining proper contingents because they could not realize revenue according to their *zat* and *sawar* rank. Hence even their agents and retainers resorted to all sorts of misdeeds and spoliation.

The Madad-i Ma'ash and its Grantees:

The land revenue resources of the Mughal Empire were classified under three heads, viz. *khalisa*, *jagir* and *madad-i ma'ash* and the beneficiaries were respectively the emperor, the assignees or *jagirdars*, and the grantees or recipients of the *madad-i ma'ash* grants.

The *madad-i ma'ash* under the Mughals constituted a very significant and serviceable institution which benefited the state in several ways. The grant was utilised to reward religious and literary merit to keep the learned intellectuals and holy men contented and well-provided, to pay the

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1. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 4b.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 14a.

emoluments to semi-religious officials like the _qazis_, _muhtasibs_, _muftis_, _mir adls_ and the like and, lastly to carve out influential pockets for the Muslim social and intellectual elite in the interior and the far-flung and impossible areas of the Empire so as to stabilise and perpetuate the wider interests of the Empire. It was a planned strategy of the Mughal administrative set-up that the countryside should be studded with Muslim colonies of the ulama and the divines which would afford dependable support to the permanence of the Empire, would provide recruiting grounds for the military and semi-military potential to combat sedition and rebellion against the Empire and would keep the agents of the Empire well abreast of the local conditions, the aims and outlook of the people in the respective regions and would employ their resources and social status to win support and loyalty among the people to the cause of the Empire. Hence the _madad-i ma'ash_ was intended and ultimately proved to be a great pillar of strength for the broader cause of the Empire and wider interests of the ruling aristocracy.

Madad-i Ma'ash Land:

The madad-i ma'ash was a grant generally heritable and perpetual in character. The enormous grants scattered in various parts of the subah of Awadh go to testify this. From the study of a Farman of Aurangzeb dated 1690 A.D. it is evident that the Madad-i ma'ash grants were generally grants in perpetuity and hereditary made to scholars and learned men. Such grants were also made to salaried officers connected with semi-religious institutions like Qazis but these grants were conditional upon services in such cases. The grants of madad-i ma'ash either generally referred to the mode of devolution of the grant or specified certain order of succession for the future beneficiaries so that disputes regarding succession might be resolved. Such disputes were decided by the Sadrs and Qazis with the help of officials.[1]

From the Chaknamas dated 1618 A.D., 1633 A.D., 1637 A.D. and 1654 A.D. it appears that land in the form of chak were given as madad-i ma'ash. The work of consolidation was carried out by the Gumashtas, karkuns, Qanungos and Shiqdars.

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1. State Archives, Lucknow, Accession No. 1882.

The boundaries of land were demarcated, the _Chaknama_ was prepared and the boundaries of the _chak_ were defined on the _Chaknama_. These documents also bore two signatures of local officials in Hindi. The seals were affixed thereon.[1]

Madad-i ma'ash lands were granted in _sarkar_ Lucknow Awadh, Bahraich and Khairabad. As already discussed in Chapter III. Gorakhpur was not brought under the _zabti_ system. Hence _Ain_ records the names of only few _parganas_ where _madad-i ma'ash_ grants were made. These _parganas_ were _Havail-i_ Gorakhpur, Mughar and Ratanpur, all these _parganas_ adjoining the headquarter of the _sarkar_ Gorakhpur and other _parganas_ such as Utraula, where Muslims had settled earlier together with Relhi which in contiguous to _sarkar_ Awadh.

The grantees of _madad-i ma'ash_ land were hereditary and when there was no male successor then it passed on to the female ones.[2] A number of cases are on record when the women succeeded to the _madad-i ma'ash_ originally granted to men. For instance in 1097 A.H. the _madad-i ma'ash_ granted was confirmed in Musammat Sarther, the widow of the orignal

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1. _State Archives_, Lucknow, Accession Nos. 965,966,967 and 971.

2. There are numbers of documents named as _Farang-i Mahal_ which reveals that this typle of grants were made in _pargana_ Suhali, _sarkar_ Lucknow, Document Nos. 13,15,16, 17, 18, 19.

grantee, in *pargana* Sultanpur, *sarkar* Awadh.[1] In 1052 A.H. Jahangir granted in re-assignment *madad-i ma'ash* in *pargana* Hisampur in *sarkar* Bahraich to Musammat Bibi Fatmah.[2] In 1062 H. Shahjahan granted to *madad-i ma'ash* to Musammat Bibi Zinat in *pargana* Hisampur.[3] The *madad-i ma'ash* was also designated by the terms of *wazifah*, *milk*, *inam*, *aimma*, *Rozinah* etc. Whether the receipient was a Muslim or a Hindu the terms applied to the endowments did not denote any distinguishing or discreiminatory nomenclature. In 1614, Jahangir issued a *farman* to Lal Misra, granting him 210 *bighas* of land as *madad-i ma'ash* in *pargana* Shahrpur, *sarkar* Khairabad.[4] In 1752, 2 lakhs, 80 thousand *dams* were granted to Pandit Rai nickname Nayan Sikh Manjum as *inam* in *pargana* Manawa, *sarkar* Lucknow.[5] Wheather the *madad-i ma'ash* was granted in the form of land or cash no definite term was applied to it. On 9th shawal, 1063 H. *madad-i ma'ash* of 25 rupees was granted to Shaikh Karim *Mutawali in aimma-i mauza* Bahannsarah and 5 rupees in *aima-i* land of Haibatpur.[6] In 1685, Aurangzeb granted six lakh *dams* in *pargana* Pali, *sarkar* Khairabad to Kamaluddin Khan as *inam-i Altamgha*.[7]

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1. *Jais Document*, Dept. of History, No. 16.
2. *Allahabad Document*, No. 34.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 30, other grants of Shahjahan's reign, Document No. 31.
4. *Framin-i Salatin*, p. 45.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
6. *Allahabad Document*, No. 1.
7. *Faramin-i Salatin*, p. 96.

Procedure of Grant and Renewal:

The grant of madad-i ma'ash was recommended by the Sadr. The report was entered in the Siyaha, and then presented to the emperor; after his approval, a parwana was issued by the Wazir or the Sadr. It also contained a Zimn or summary of the order and was noted on the back of the Farman. The parwana contained the date of the Farman, specifications of the grant and the name of the grantee and directed the officers concerned to hand over the donated land to the donee. The grantees were subjected to periodical checks by the Sadr, to examine if they are in the actual possession and enjoyment of the land so granted. But it depended upon the conditions of the place and the will of the Sadr. In many farmans, like those contained in the Allahabad Documents, Farungi Mahal, Documents, Jais Documents, Bilgram Documents, Framin-i Salatin etc., the grantees begged the Sadr to be excused for presenting the document in their possession for authentication or renewal and did not insist on new copies of renewal, issue instruction to the local officers and requested the Sadr to direct them and forbade not to ask for new firman, local authorities concerned to desist from demanding new copy of the farman for fear of harassment at the hands of the officials concerned. But usually on the death of the original or former holder of the

grant, his successor or successors would bring the document of the former sadr together with witnesses (tasbibeh) for authentication and renewal. After verification the Sadr would issue order for the confirmations of the grant to the heir or heirs concerned of the deceased and a hasab-ul hukm would be issued to implement the order. There were many cases of forcible dispossession of the madad-i ma'ash land. The grantees approached to Sadr with documents to remedy the wrong done to them. The Sadr investigated the claim and the merits of the case and if satisfied he would take measures through the local officials for the restoration of the land to the lawful claiment.[1]

Administration of Madad-i Ma'ash Land:

The madad-i ma'ash land was under the jurisdiction of the Sadr. In the pargana the Mutawalli was authorised to look after the administration of madad-i ma'ash. The imperial regulations undertook to accord full legal recognition and protection to the interests of madad-i ma'ash grantees.

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1. Bilgram Document, No. 22; Farangi Mahal Documents No. 4, 7,8,9,16.

Dastaks issued by Mirza Jan Beg, dated 8 October, 1667, directed Mir Saiyid Ahmad, resident of Bahraich and Shiva Das, *Qanungo* of *pargana* Haveili Bahraich to the effect that whenever he found that the mischief-mongers interfered with the administration of *jagirs* and *madad-i ma'ash* lands the state would revoke and appropriate such property and in lieu thereof give some other culturable land else where. This happened even when the *Shiqdar*, *Kurkun* and *raiyat* did not behave well with the grantees.[1] In such matters the victims of oppression applied to the higher authorities relinquishing their holdings and prayed for exchange of land at some safer place. In most cases such *zamindars* were Hindus, who adopted a tendency to defy the Mughal authority by intermeddling with the law and order machinery of the state and create distrubances in their respective regions. The Mughal emperors adopted the policy to offer free land to the pious Muslims who were serving the cause of the state by creating goodwill for the Emperor and good wishes for the stability of the state among the people. According to Noman Ahmad Siddiqui, "They furnished the government officers with reliable information about the prevailing political and administrative conditions in the locality, and in an emergency they could join the government forces as soldiers to

1. *U.P. State Archives*, Lucknow, Accession Nos. 965, 966, 967 and 971.

curb a local disturbance."[1]

After the death of Aurangzeb, the administration grew slack and corrupt, and widespread anarchy overtook the empire. The chiefs and *zamindars* on numerous occasions defied the Mughal government, taking their clue from them the *madad-i ma'ash* grantees also adopted a tendency to claim *zamindari* rights instead of *madad-i ma'ash*. Whenever there was an opportunity to do so. On 15 Ramzan, 1068 H. Shahjahan had granted five *bighas* of land adjoining a tank as *madad-i-ma'ash* to Qazi Mohammad Daim in *mauza* Havaili Khairabad, *qasba* Panorya for the construction of a mosque, *khangah* and the tombs.[2] On 5 Ramzan, 1084 H. this grant was renewed by Aurangzeb.[3] But in the course of time this family claimed *zamindari* rights in place of *madad-i ma'ash* and according Aminuddin Ahmad Mutawalli, father of Jalaluddin, son of Jamaluddin Mutawalli, grandson of Qazi Daim, son of Qazi Mohammad Hassan, son of Qazi Raja, who were the pious people of Khairabad city and had claimed to have inherited the *zamindari* of Qasba Panorya from their ancestors. Those who wanted to build houses paid one *tanka* and some sugar-cane

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1. *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, p. 132.
2. *Khairabad Document*, No. 3, Department of History, Aligarh.
3. *Ibid*., No. 5.

as customs of bhaint. From the cultivable land, they realized the taxes according to zamindari rights and those persons who were irrigating their fields from the water of Panorya pond paid a nad of grain as a tax to madad-i ma'ash holders who now claimed to be the zamindars.[1]

Main pockets of Madad-i ma'ash holders in the Subah of Awadh:

The western-side of sarkar Khairabad, such as pargana Pali, Sandi, Shahabad, Gopamau etc. was the main pocket of madad-i ma'ash holders. There is a rare document being Hukm of Prince Salim issued in 1602 A.D., when he was in rebellion against his father. On reaching Allahabad, Salim assumed the airs of an independent monarch and conferred titles on his servants and issued Madad-i ma'ash grants in consideration of piety, literary merit or fedility to that Prince. The document confers 24 bighas of land as madad-i-ma'ash to Shaikh Idiris and others in pargana Sadrapur, sarkar Khairabad.[2] In 1666, 50 bighas of land were granted to Miko Chaudhri in pargana Pali.[3] In 1677, madad-i ma'ash was granted to Arifbillah Shaikh Hayadatullah in mauza Khanrpur and Ghosipur with certain purposes stipulated in the grant

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1. Khairabad Document No. 9.
2. State Archives, Accession No. 296.
3. Faramin-i Salatin, p. 76.

like succour to the needy, populating the land and constructing a rest house, khanqah,[1] water-tank, ~~laying of~~ planting a garden and digging of wells etc. In 1682 Aurangzeb issued farman to grant 120 bighas land to Azmatullah in pargana Pali, mauza Shahbad.[2] Madad-i ma'ash grants to Hindus are also on record like the one in which Jahangir in 1614 granted 210 bighas land to Lala Misra as madad-i ma'ash in pargana Shahrpur for habitation.[3]

Sarkar Lucknow:

The main pocket of madad-i ma'ash holders were in the north-west of sarkar Lucknow. The original sanad of Sher Shah Suri issued in 947 A.H. (1540 A.D.) grants a plot of 60 bighas of land in village Hamidpur in pargana Sandila to Shaikh Mahmood on condition that the grantees lead a pious life and regularly practise the art of archery to be able to put down trouble raised by hostile elements.[4]

Sarkar Awadh:

In sarkar Awadh, madad-i ma'ash holders were scattered. We find that the pargana Daryabad was the main centre of madad-i-ma'ash holders while in the south-east of the sarkar

1. Framin-i Salatin, p. 81.
2. Ibid., p. 89.
3. Ibid., p. 45.
4. State Archives, Accession No. 460.

pargana Sultanpur too constituted a major centre of madad-i ma'ash holders. Other receiptents were in the parganas, Sailak, Inhauna and Haveli Awadh. It can be assumed that the receipents were mostly inhabiting the south-west and south-east segments of the sarkar.

Sarkar Bahraich :

In sarkar Bahraich, pargana, Husampur, Fakhrpur and Haveili Bahraich were the main centres of madad-i ma'ash holders.[1] In pargana Husampur, Humayun granted madad-i-ma'ash to Musammat Bibi Samhat while Jahangir made such grant in favour of Musammat Bibi Fathma and in yet another example Shahjahan granted madad-i ma'ash to Musammat Bibi Das, Musammat Bibi Zeenat, Musammat Bibi Khadijah Fath etc and Saiyid Ahmad. Aurangzeb also conferred the madad-i ma'ash upon Saiyid Ahmad and his sons and Saiyid Abdur Rahim in this pargana. Jahangir and Shahjahan granted madad-i ma'ash lands in parganas Fakhrpur and Haveli Bahraich. Aurangzeb also granted madad-i ma'as to Saiyid Husain in pargana Haveli Bahraich.

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1. Allahabad Documents Nos. 27, 34, 29, 30, 31, 44, 42, 40, 32, 46, 37, 45, 38, 43, 36, 28, 39.

Sarkar Gorakhpur :

For the *sarkar* of Gorakhpur the only available information pertains to the solitary grant of *madad-i ma'ash* to Musammat Naimat in *mauza* Kalyanpur, *pargana* Rehli by Shahjahan.[1]

The documents relating to the *madad-i ma'ash* grants contained in *Mallawan Documents*, *Bilgram Documents*, *Jais Documents*, *Khairabad Documents*, *Farangi Mahal Documents*, *Framin-i Salatin*, and *Allahabad Documents* give us a fair idea about the extent of the area covered by the grants, the nature and variety of the purposes of the donations and the local variations which was assigned as gift to poor and proportions of the quantum of the grants vis -a -vis the *khalisa* and the *jagir*. The continuity or the chequered history of the *madad-i ma'ash* grants in the subah through the stresses and strains of political upheavals is also gleaned from these diverse collections. Of special importance is the fact that the *madad-i ma'ash* grants bear glaring testimony to the rise, fall, geneologies and political social and cultural importance of the numerous families of note who rendered conspicuous services to the cause of education, literature, religious institutions and the promotion

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1. Munshi Gopal Rai Surdaj, *Durr-ul-ulum*, Rot. 185, f. 48b.

of the interests of the Empire. For instance, the *Khairabad docïments* give a connected account of a notable family of *madad-i ma'ash* grantees under Akbar and how the descendants of that family claimed *zamindari* right in the eighteenth century.[1] While the Farangi Mahal document cited above narrates the significant episodes relating to the great scholar Mulla Qutbuddin Sihalvi and as to how he had been killed in a *zamindari* feud at the hands of Asad, the notorious *zamindar* of *pargana* Fathehpur Devi and how the sons and other relatives of the deceased were mal-treated and exiled from Sihali and were later rehabilitated at Farangi Mahal, Lucknow with the *madad-i ma'ash* grant conferred on them by the imperial *farman* and implemented through the agency of Khudabanda Khan the *Khan-i Saman* with his seal. The document mentions that the *sanad* of the grant is preserved with Wizarat Panah Shaikh Saadullah. Mulla Niaz and Mulla Raza, sons of the martyred Shaikh Qutbuddin who claimed the aforsaid *Haveli* and produced the *sanad* as a proof before the *diwan*.[1]

The Zamindars:

The *zamindars* in the *subah* of Awadh ~~constructed~~ constituted the main upper class of the agrarian society and played a very

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1. *Farangi Mahal Document*, No. 23.

significant role not only in the development of rural economy but also in influencing state policy and politcal arrangements in the region during the period under review. This class was established on the basis of caste and clans. Its existence was so vital that its castes had been enumerated in the official records of Akbar's reign.[1] According to Laljee "among the total population of Hindus, Rajputs were a majority and the <u>zamindars</u> and <u>taaluqdars</u> were mostly from this caste. The Muslim <u>zamindars</u> and <u>taaluqdars</u> were comparatively less numerous than those from the Rajput clans. Consequently most of the uprisings and rebellions were fomented and precipated by the Rajputs. The <u>zamindars</u> from clans other than the Rajputs counted much less in number."[2] The Bais Rajputs were holding a wide tract of land in <u>sarkar</u> Lucknow, the Bachgotis were dominant in <u>sarkar</u> Awadh, the Bisens were very powerful in sarkar Gorakhpur, the Raikwars and Janwars occupied vast land in <u>sarkar</u> Bahraich, various <u>zamindar</u> castes existed in the <u>sarkars</u> of Khairabad and Gorakhpur.

The Bisens were quite influential in <u>sarkar</u> Gorakhpur and had remained insurgent and unruly upto 1580 and had often

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1. Laljee, <u>Mirat-ul Auzza</u>, MS. Aligarh, Preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh, f. 72b.

revolted against the imperial authority.[1]

In the reign of Akbar, consequent upon the fall of Kalhans rule, the Bisens held control over the tran - Ghara region. This clan was settled in the eastern part of the region and scattered in minor clusters of small _zamindari_ communities in _sarkar_ Gorakhpur and _sarkar_ Awadh and was bounded by the river Kauno forming its northern and the Ganga as the southern boundaries.[2] Ghulam Hazrat gives a description of the early settlement of the _zamindars_ in _sarkar_ Gorakhpur maintaining that in former times, the chieftainship of this region was in the hands of the Dom tribe. Therefore, remains of these forts, particularly of

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1. W. Crooke writes, "They were the descendants of Mayura Bhutta, a descendant of Tamadagni Rishi of the Race of Bhrigu. Some says he came from Hustinapur and was the son of one Aswathama, other say that he was an emigrant from Maharashtra. By his wife Surajprabha, he had a son, Siswa or Bissu, Sen, who was the ancestor of the Bisen sept of Chhatris, _Tribes and Casts of the North Western Provinces and Oudh_, Vol. II, pp. 116-117.

   In 1567 after the defeat of Ali Quli Khan, Iskandar Khan fled from Awadh towards Gorakhpur. He was assisted in his escape by Bodh Mal of Majhauli. Nevill, _District Gazetteers_ of U.P. Agra and Oudh, Vol. XXXI, P. 110. In 1566 Bisen chief helped Ali Quli Khan to operate from the fort of Chilupara. _Akbar Nama_, Vol. II, p. 396; Bayazid, _Tarikh-i Humayun Wa Akbar_, p. 296; in 1590 the successors of Mardan or Madun Singh supported the Afghans rebellion; Nevill, _District Gazetteers of U.P., Agra and Oudh_, Vol. XXXI, p. 111.

2. W. Crooke, _Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces of Agra and Oudh_, Vol. II, p. 117.

Batulgarh, Ramgardh, Bahdiyagardh, Domangardh and the like may still be seen in the environs of the city of Gorakhpur and the adjoining countryside. The Taharban tribes, which means a hilly tribe were inhabiting until recently in the foot-hills. They brought products of mountains to Bazar Batol at Gorakhpur for sale. These establishments were set up with the consolidation of the Muslim rule in the region of Tuharwan but later removed to the hill region as noted above noted Rajputs, particularly one Sarnet from Srinagar had descended and come into conflict with the Dom tribe, overpowered it and occupied this region and his descendants are still known as Raja of Gorakhpur, Some of his sons held the zamindari of the parganas Silhat Haveli Gorakhpur with the authority of the said Raja of Gorakhpuri. Later on during Akbar's reign the descendants of the taalugdar of Kachhor, formerly residents of pargana Bhanaparah, supported by their kinsmen, attacked and overpowered the Raja of Gorakhpur and destroyed the forts. Their succeding generations brought under their possession the zamindari of Haveli Gorakhpur and Silhat which his sons possessed until the authors time.[1]

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1. Tarikh-i Gorakhpur, f. 7 a,b.

According to Ghulam Hazrat there existed three categories of zamindars in this sarkar. In the first category are included those who were the absolute proprietors of land and no one could intermeddle with their exclusive enjoyment of their zamindari rights. The second category consisted of taaluqadars, like Rajas and other proprietors whose names are mentioned in the register of milkiyat, and who generally enjoyed the zamindari rights in partnership with others in the same village and were known as joint-partners. They were taking the sundry cesses like burat[1] from Jalkar and bunkar[2] and were paying the land tax in the form of chukti. The third category comprised many sorts of zamindars, e.g. the absentee zamindars who were not present at the spot of revenue realization and operated through agents; those who received their share from the peasants in a form of sankalp[3] and appropriated it for their own use; those who purchased zamindari sometimes along with taaluqadari in joint ownership and sometimes were exempted

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1. Birt, (maintenance, support, means of livelihood) grant or endowment to any person for his maintenance or for religious and charitable objects. Wilson's Glossary, p.89.

2. The Jalkar and Bankar, or products of the waters and woods. Wilson's Glossary, p. 89.

3. Sankalp - a relgious grant to a Brahman, and held at first rent-free, but latterly subject to a small payment. Wilson's Glossary, p. 89.

from the payment of revenue. Fourth kind is not bound down by any conditions in the deed of conferring their rights but were not distinguishable from the Taluqa. Fifthly those who purchased zamindari on payment of money but their deed of zamidari stipulated the realisation of revenue from the Taluqa. Sixthly, those whose zamindari rights are conditional on performance of specific services to the Empire. This kind of zamindari is akin to the jagirdari and incidental to serving the Empire for a certain specific purpose assigned thereby.

In 1567 Gorakhpur was brought under the Mughal control.[1] But to the north-east of the Rapti, this clan ? was still holding a wide tract of land. After the failure of the Afghan turmoil and aggression in 1573 led by Yousuf Muhammad, Raja Sansar Chand who fled to the north bank of the Rapti where the latter was holding a wide tract of land around Gorakpur.[2] In 1634, Babu Lakshman, zamindar of Ratanpur in Sarkar Gorakhpur was in open rebellion. Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jung, subahdar of Bihar, was deputed to suppress the rebelliion. In an encounter many rebels were killed, some fled to the jungle and Babu Lakshman implored

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1. Akbar Nama, Vol. II, p. 437.

2. Bayazid, Tarikh-i Humayun wa Akbar, p. 136.

forgiveness through the mediation of Amar Singh, zamindar of Bhandhwan. Through Abdullah Khan's intercession Babu Lakshman submitted and attended the imperial court and presented two lakhs of rupees and nine elephants as peshkash.[1] Throughout the Mughal period, the zamindars of the region were a source of great trouble to the Empire. When in the first half of the eighteenth century when Saadat Khan was appointed governor of the Subah of Awadh, he was forced to launch a series of expeditions against the recalcitrant zamindars of this region.

In sarkar Awadh, Bachgoti, Raikwar and Chauhans were powerful zamindars.[2] A striking feature of this sarkar was that the Bachgotis had always been submissive and helped in the establishment of Muslim rule in that region.[3]

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1. Mohd. Saleh Kambu, Vol. II, pp. 82, 83, 84, 96; Qazwini, Vol. III, pp. 648, 649, 650.

2. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. II, p. 185.

3. W. Crooke writes "After the defeat of Prithivi Raj by Shahabuddin Ghori some Chauhans, under Baryar Singh and Kans Rae descendant of Shakir Deo, brother of Prithvi Raj, fled from Sambhalgarh, and wandering eastward, about 1248 A.D., settled at Jamwawan, in Sultanpur District."
Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh., Vol. I, p. 93.

In *sarkar* Bahraich, Raikwar too were in occupation of considerable area.[1] Harhar Deo was summoned to Delhi in 1590 to pay a specific tax as he had not complied with the Mughal custom requiring the *zamindars* to pay a certain cess to a royal scion passing through his estate and in this case it was a Mughal princess who had not been paid this cess. From Delhi he was sent to Kashmir to fight against the rebellious governor.[2] In this expedition, he played a vital role. He returned to his native land in 1590 and nine *parganas* were assigned to him by Akbar.

In 1627, Shahjahan issued a *farman* to Maha Singh making similar conferment with and perquisites thereof as it was given to Raikwar Harhar deo. The grant related to the *parganas* of Bahraich, Salonabad, Sujauli, Rajhat, Sultanpur, Qila Nawagarh, Dangdoi, Bahrah together with *tappas* of Bhiti in Kurasar and *tappa* Ramgarh Gauri, (the old name of Balampur). The rights in this grant consisted of a fixed percentage of the income from the revenue-paying villages, and four annas in the rupee in addition to five

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1. A sect of Rajputs who claim to be of Surajbansi origin. Their settlement in Bahraich date from about 1414 A.D. The two brothers Pratap Sah and Dondi Sah migrated from Raika in Kashmir and settled at Ramnagar. His sons over come the Bhar about 1450 A.D., and gained a large estate. *Settlement Report of Bahraich*, p. 28; W. Crooke Vol. IV, p. 203.

2. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of U.P. of Agra and Oudh*, Vol. XLV, p. 127; Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. IV, p. 203.

seers in every maund of foodgrains in the aimma or revenue-free villages, besides one-fourth of all rights pertaining to water, grazing, transit dues and the like were also granted to the above mentioned zamindar. After the death of Maka Singh, his heir-apparant, Man Singh received the same previlages. During Sa'adat Khan's governorship, Man Singh's grandson, Shyam Singh, was Risaldar posted at Delhi. Sa'adat Khan summoned him to his native region to suppress the rebellion of the banjaras of Bahraich.[1]

In sarkar Khairabad, we have interesting account of the rebellion of a zamindar, named Ramar. Yusuf Khan, son of Husain Sah, was the ruler of Kashmir, when Kashmir was annexed to the Empire. Yusuf Khan with Raisul Mulk settled at Loma, a pargana in the Doab region in the jagir of the Saiyids of Barha.[2]

Later on Yusuf Khan and Raisul Mulk were transferred to pargana Baswah in sarkar Khairabad. Due to the floods they had to experience great hardship in crossing over the inundated areas. Any how they succeeded in wading through the floods and reached Baswah after undergoing much trouble.

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1. Nevill, District Gazetteers of U.P., Agra and Oudh, Vol. XLV, p. 128.

2. Haidar Malik, Tarikh-i Kashmir, 1622, f. 207.

There they found the zamindar, Ramar in open rebellion and laying waste the pargana. The imperial officers were not in a position to obtain a decisive victory against Ramar.[1] The administration of the zamindar was slack and secreat reports informed Mohammad Yusuf that theft and pillage were daily occurrences in the pargana of Baswah. Raisul Mulk and Yusuf Khan planned a night attack on the fort of the zamindar. After having travelled 25 kos on foot, they attacked the fort on the morning. The fort was captured and the Raja was killed. Raisul Mulk was summoned to the Deccan and Baswah was given to the Raja Basu in payment of his salary.[2]

In sarkar Lucknow Bais clan was very powerful.[3] The Bais and Chauhans always defied the Mughal authority and upset law and order. Describing the strategic position of Baiswara, Insha-i Rushan Kalam reveals that it was bounded in the south-west by the Ganges and in the north-east by the river Sai. During flood, which inundated the region of Ranbarpur, the reculcitrant zamindars who were notorious for their contumacious power that the contingents

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1. Haider Malik, Tarikh Kashmir, f. 207.
2. Ibid., f. 208.
3. The Bais assert themselves to have descended from Sulivahana, the mythic son of a snake who conqurred the great Raja Vikramaditya of Ujjain and fixed his own era in 1250 A.D. W. Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. I, p. 118.

of former *faujdars* of this *sarkar* were no match to his clan.[1] These Rajput chieftains and *zamindars* had built small forts for their defence. They refused to pay land-revenue and fought in open rebellion against the imperial army.

In 1622 Bahadur Khan was deputed against the *zamindars* of Baiswara (Eastern Awadh) who had refused to pay land-revenue. Bahadur Khan led an expedition and successfully challenged the rebels. Sher Andaz Khan proceeded towards Baiswara with three thousand infantry to suppress the refractory *zamindars*. The *karoris* of *mauza* Kali in *pargana* Bijnaur, Uchhagaon and Dehi in *pargana* Zaidpur informed that the turbulent *zamindars* of this region having plundered and devastated the towns and villages, had then started harrassing the travellers. After an encounter they captured the forts and handed them over to the *karoris* of that region. Jethi, *zamindar* of *pargana* Harra had forcibly occupied the fort of Murtazanagar from the Saiyid of Unam. He recaptured the fort and removed the son of tenacious *zamindars* and also took 17 forts which he had handed over to the *gumashta* of the *jagirdar* in lieu of arrears of revenue outstanding against them. Afterwards

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1. Bhupat, *Insha'i Roshan Kalam*, f. 6a

he returned to Baiswara. It was reported from Batiaman in *pargana* Lucknow and *mauza* Kanjurah in *pargana* Deori that the *zamindar* had ruined the property of the inhabitants. Imperial order was issued that Sher Andaz Khan should go and suppress the rebellion. Accordingly he proceeded with three thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry towards Baiswara and restored peace and tranquillity in that region.[1] The news came from Lucknow that Fathnand Singh the seditious *zamindar* of Baiswara seized the accumulated revenues by force and Rum Singh issued forth from his Sadoni fort and looted the amount of revenue. The fort of Sadoni was the residence of Fathnand Singh and Soki Shahi Bais, who were in complicity with the other *zamindars* of the place and they created disturbances in that region. Sher Andaz Khan who proceeded towards that region made Aleraz Singh, the *zamindar* of Parnidah a captive and brought the latter's fort under his own control.[2]

In this region the efforts of the Mughal Emperor were directed towards limiting or smashing the power of contumacious *zamindars* of Baiswara by creating new *zamindars* as a counter-poise. Accordingly local Muslims

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1. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 10a.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 3b.

were granted *zamindari* rights in the heart of the territories of the Bais Rajputs. In *mauza* Kanjurah in *pargana* Shahpur, Saiyid Muzaffar son of Anwar Mohani was given zamindari rights for replacing the unruly Chauhans.[1] In *mauza* Tathar, *pargana* Hadha, Saiyid Ghulam Mohiuddin was granted *zamindari* right in place of Jahani and Ajsahi *zamindars*.[2] But the Mughal emperor failed to subdue the Bais *zamindars* and throughout the Mughal period they continued to be a great source of trouble in that region.

Zamindari Rights:

The *zamindars* were essentially the co-shares and partners of the government in the revenue of the land and sundry cesses. These *zamindars* were mostly resident in rural areas. They helped the government in the realisation of revenue and maintenance of law and order. They were entitled to take fixed amount of revenue from the produce. These rights and perquisities were known as *dami*, *satrahi*, *malkana*, *nankar* etc. Generally, the *zamindari* rights were hereditary. But the hereditary rights were alienable and subject to sale and purchase. In 1585, Mian Amman, son of Adhan, had purchased *satrahi* rights from

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1. *Insha-i Roshan Kalam*, f. 2a.
2. *Ibid.*, f.

Narain, Asa, Nakha, Bhakkan who were the Brahmins in village Jaha, *pargana* Sandila for Rs. 1,568/-.[1] Another evidence of the sale of the *zamindari* rights of 17th Shaban 1141 fasli corresponding to 1734 A.D., when the *zamindars* of *mauza* Baqar Nagar, Tappa Hawnsipur, *pargana* and *sarkar* Khairabad, who were Rajputs named Santokha, father of Partab, son of Har Singh, and Maha Singh, Anop Sahi, Babu Sahi, sons of Ranjit Sahi, son of Asir Das had sold 5 *biswah* and ten *biswansi* for two hundred seventy one rupees and four annas to Rai Sarondas, father of Alam Chand, son of Babu Chand, resident of Sandi in *sarkar* Khairabad.[2] On 21 Shaban 1141 (1734 A.D.) the *zamindars* of *mauza* Sikandarpur in *parganah* Sarah, *sarkar* Khairabad, namely Natji and Makki, Nakha father of Nowla, son of Asir and Hansa, father of Humjar, son of Sahai Nandan father of Mohan .... Kasi son of Asir father of Mahta, son of Asir, of the Rajput clan had sold their *zamindari* rights of 16 biswah for Rs. 560 to Mohd. Sadar Khan, father of Kamal-uddin Khan, father of Dalair Khan.[3]

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1. *Allahabad Documents*, No. 219, 224, 370, 375, 418,435.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 224.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 229.

The managers of *mauza* Korna Chowra informed that since 1154, the *zamindari* rights fiped from the very beginning were of the order of ten *seers* of grain per *bigha* as *satrahi* and one fulus[1] per *bigha* as *dami*. Accordingly seven rupees in cash and 50 mands of grains including sugar and raw cotton were presented to Mia Mohd., Kazim Chaudhri and that was accepted of him and it was agreed that these articles should be presented in every harvest and every year.[2] The term *malikana* was also used for *zamindari* rights.[3] In a document Shah Mohd. Akbar, a trader from Sandila sold out his right of *biswa* or *satarhi* in respect of two and a half bighas of land in his *zamindari* to one Shaikh Rafiul Amin Chaudhari for Rs. 2/- only which shows that even usufructuary rights pertaining to a *zamindari* land might be disposed of.[4] In *nankar* right was granted to Saiyid Salar Chaudhri in pargana Bilgram[5] and in 1679, a sum of Rs.75/- was granted to Saiyid Mohd. Faiz in the same *pargana* as *nankar*.[5] In 1694 thirty-eight

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1. Small coins of uncertain value, Steingass, p.938.
2. *Allahabad Documents*. No. 299.
3. The *zamindar* received something for his rights of propety in land when it was brought under cultivation. He was entitled to the *malikana* dues even if he did not engage for collection and payment of land-revenue. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i Mahdi Ali Khan*, cited by N.A. Siddiqi, p. 34.
4. *Allahabad Documents*, No. 304.
5. *Bilgram Documents*, No. 49. *Nankar* elsewhere has been defined as a grant of two *biswas* in a *bigha* for services rendered in connection with the cultivation of land and

(Continued on next page....

rupees were granted as nankar to Saiyid Jashan Ali in pargana Bilgram, sarkar Lucknow.[1] In 1659 nankar rights were granted to Partabmal, Qanungo of pargana Sandila in mauza Dalair Nagar meknanud Kondauli.[2]

An interesting evidence from the Allahabad Documents refers to a solitary case of Ijaradari in Awadh. In 1675-76 one Gokul Das, gomashta of Sadik Mohammad informed that the zamindari of Mohd. Sharif Chaudhari of village Anda Mau in pargana Sandila was farmed out as ijara.[3]

The above description of the zamindars and their caste components shows that the zamindar class in the subah of Awadh was mostly composed of the Rajputs. Their time-honoured privileges and position was tolerated and maintained by the Mughals on the principle of exigency

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Continued from previous page....

in certain provinces it consisted of a commission of 5% on the collection. N.A. Siddiqui, p.33.

6. Bilgram Documents, No. 15.
1. Ibid., No. 16.
2. Framin-i Salatin, p. 62.
3. Allahabad Documents, No. 323. It appears that ijara constituted a sort of contract and implied the farming out of the revenue of a mahal or more than one mahal. The ijardar was required to pay the fixed amount as stipulated in the agreement without any reference to increase or decrease in the collections. He remitted the stipulated amount in instalments as agreed between the parties, and was not entitled to make any representation for reduction in the amount to be paid. However, if certain conditions were stipulated in the agreement he was entitled to make a representation. N.A. Siddiqi's, p. 92.

as they would be of help to the authorities of the Empire in maintaining peace and order, in combating the forces of rebellion and chaos and in striking a balance among the hostile elements by playing one against another.

The zamindars of the southern part of the subah were more turbulent, unruly and self-assertive than those of the northern part as is revealed by the contemporary and the later sources. According to Mirat-ul Auza, an eighteenth century source "the inhabitants of the eastern districts of Sultanpur, Baiswara and Salon which lay in the southern part were so brave that even an ordinary individual of this region like an amalguzar or zamindar could refuse to pay ten to an amil or taluqdar, and the latter could not dare resist him."[1] Many feuds between the government officials and taluqdars are on record e.g. the resistance offered by Mohan Singh, the taluqdar of Talwi to Saadat Khan Burhan-ul Mulk, the Subahdar is an instance in point.[2]

In the northern part of the Subah as well, the zamindars of the north-east were more bellicose in nature and often revolted and could be brought to submission by an imperial action

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(1)

(2)

only. But the north-western zamindars in the subah were loyal, submissive and peace-loving.

In the end it may pointed out that among the categories of the zamindars, the Chieftains were non-existent in Awadh. But the primary zamindars who were more numerous in Awadh, mostly belonged to the various zamindar castes and were brave, proud, bellicose and self-assertive. They were held in subjection by the stratagem and the strong will of the subahdar concerned.

Below in the List of the *Zamindars* as given in the *Ain* of the *Subah* of Awadh.

Sarkar of Awadh

Parganas	Zamindars
1. Awadh, with suburban district, 2 mahals.	Brahman, Kumbi.
2. Ambodha	Bais
3. Ibrahimabad	Ansari
4. Anhonah	Chauhan, newly converted to Islam.
5. Panchamrath	Rajput, Bachhal, Ghelot.
6. Bilehri	Bachgoti.
7. Basodhi	"
8. Thanah Bhadaon	"
9. Baktha	"
10. Daryabad	Rajput, Chauhan, Raikwar.
11. Rudauli	Rajput, Chauhan, Bais.
12. Silak	Rajput, Raikwar.
13. Sultanpur	Bachgoti.
14. Satanpur	Bais, newly converted to Islam, Bachgoti, .
15. Subeha	Rajput.
16. Sarwapali	Bachgoti.
17. Satrikah	Ansari

Parganas	Zamindars
18. Gawarchak	Raikwar
19. Kishni	Rajput
20. Mangabi	Sombansi
21. Naipur	Various.

Sarkar Lucknow

1. Amethi	Ansari
2. Unam	Saiyid
3. Isauli	Rajput, Bachgoti
4. Asiyun	Bais, Chandel
5. Asoha	Ahnin
6. Unchahgaon	Bais
7. Bilgraon	Saiyid, Bais
8. Bangarmau	Rajput, Ghelot,
9. Bijlaor	Chauhan
10. Bari	Bais
11. Bharimau	Bais
12. Pangwan	Bais
13. Betholi	Rajput, Jat.
14. Panhan	Bais
15. Parsandan	Rajput, Kumbhi
16. Patan	Brahman, Kunabi
17. Barashakor	Brahman

Parganas	Zamindars
18. Jahalotar	Chandel
19. Dewi	Rajput
20. Deorakh	Bais
21. Dadrah	Rajput
22. Ranbarpur	Bais, Brahman
23. Ramkot	Rajput
24. Sandilah	Ghelot, Bachhal
25. Saipur	Rajput, Chandel
26. Sarosi	Chandel, Rajput
27. Satanpur	Bais, Brahman
28. Sahali	Rajput
29. Sidhor	Afghan, Rajput
30. Sidhpur	Bais
31. Sandi	Rajput
32. Saron	Rajput, Kunbi
33. Fatehpur	Shaikhzadah, Rajput.
34. Fatehpur Chaurasi	Rajput, Chandel.
35. Garh Anbhatti	Rajput, Bahman, Goti.
36. Kursi	Rajput.
37. Kakori	Rajput, Bisen
38. Khanjrah	Bais.
39. Ghatampur	Brahman.
40. Kachhandan	Chandal
41. Goranda	Brahman

Parganas	Zamindars
42. Konbhi	Rajput.
43. Lucknow	Shaikhzadah, Brahman, Kayath.
44. Lashkar	Bais.
45. Maliahabad	Bais.
46. Malwah	Bais.
47. Mohan	Rajput, Bais.
48. Moraon	Rajput, Bais.
49. Madiaon	Burkhala.
50. Mahnah	Rajput.
51. Manawi	Mussalman, Rajput.
52. Makraed	Rajput, Bais.
53. Harha	Bais.
54. Hardoi	Brahman
55. Hanhar	Bais.

Sarkar Bahraich

1. Bahraich	Rajput.
2. Bahrah	Kahnah.
3. Husampur	Raikwar, Bisen.
4. Dangdum	Janwar
5. Rajhat	"
6. Sujhauli	Rajput, Janwar.
7. Sultanpur	Janwar.
8. Fakhrpur	Raikwar
9. Firozabad	Rajput, Tanwar.

Parganas	Zamindars
10. Fort of Nawa-garh	Various.
11. Kharonsa	Bais.

SARKAR KHAIRABAD

1. Baror Anjuah	Rajput, Brahmans.
2. Baswah	Rajput, Bachhal.
3. Pali	Asnin.
4. Bawan	"
5. Basrah	Various.
6. Bhurwarah	Ahnin.
7. Basara	Bachhal.
8. Pila	Ahnin.
9. Chhatyapur	Rajput Gaur .
10. Khairabad	Brahman.
11. Sandi	Sombansi.
12. Sarah	Chauhan
13. Sadrpur	Janwar, Bachhal.
14. Gopamau	Rajput Kuar.
15. Kheri	Bisen, Rajput, Janwar.
16. Khairigarh	Basis, Bisen, Bachhal, Kahnah.
17. Kharkhela	Asin.
18. Kharkhat Mau	Various.
19. Laharpur	Brahman.
20. Machharhatta	Rajput, Bachhal.

Parganas.	Zemindars
21. Nimkhar	Ahir.
22. Hargaraon	-

Sarkar Gorakhpur

Parganas.	Zemindars
1. Utraula	Afghan-i Miyanah.
2. Unhaula	Bisen.
3. Binaikpur	Rajput, Surajbani.
4. Banbhaparah	Rajput.
5. Bhawaparah	Bisen.
6. Telpur	Rajput Surajbansi.
7. Chiluparah	Rajput.
8. Daryapurah	Bisen.
9. Dewaparah	Bisen.
10. Rihli(Rudauli)	Rajput Bisen.
11. Rasulpur & Ghosi	Sombansi.
12. Ramgarh & Gauri	"
13. Gorakhpur	Surajbansi.
14. Katihla	Bansi .
15. Rahlaparh(Rihla)	Bisen.
16. Mahauli	"
17. Mandwah	Sombansi
18. Maghar and Ratanpur	Bisen, Bais.

CHAPTER VI

INDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMERCE

The subah of Awadh had earned considerable reputation as an important region of the Empire throbbing with industrial and commercial activity. Its fertile land mass, well-watered plains, agricultural heartland, its long-standing tradition of exquisite workmanship for fine fabrics, handicrafts, glazed pottery and indigo production attracted European Factors to set up their commercial establishments in the subah, export the products of Awadh to overseas countries. This accounts for the European Factories studding the length and breadth of Awadh and carrying on brisk foreign trade. The copious Factory Records throw abundant light on the nature, extent and volume of Trade of the subah with other regions of the Empire as well as with foreign countries. During the 17th century, the region enjoyed peace and tranquility under the Mughal administration which gave a great fillip to the growth of agriculture, industry and trade, leading to further drives both in internal and external trade.

Curiously enough, the contemporary chroniclers and foreign travellers failed to give adequate attention and record in their accounts the phenomenal growth of trade and commerce taking place in the region in the period under review, probably

because this region lay out side the immediate periphery of their observations and might have been out of the way of the main strategic and frequented highways of the empire. It accounts for the lack of interest among the modern scholars to make a through and comprehensive history of the various aspects of trade and commerce of the subah; hence a study of the nature and extent of production and organisation of the industry and trade in Awadh is imperative.[1] The main source of the study is based on Factory Records and the information collected from chroniclers and the miscellaneous source material for the Mughal period. The information pertains to the persistent attempts of the East India Company to acquire monopoly of trade in the products of the province and the competative spirit in which they attempted to exclude and oust other European Companies from the benefits of the trade in Awadh. This conflict of interest persisted during 17th and 18th centuries and it was only in the 18th century that the British monopoly interests succeeded in achieving their object in Awadh.

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1. A modern work 'The Commercial Policy of the Mughals' G.D. Pant omits to highlight the importance of the subah of Awadh in the commercial history of Mughal India. He, however, observes the subah of Awadh was not at all important. There was a village Doken near Bahrauch which was an important copper producing centre. In Ajodhya, gold was obtained by shifting dust." Bombay, 1930, p. 91.

It will be apt to study the various important centres of the subah as separate units of the trading activity of the British traders and the indigenous mercantile concerns.

Lucknow:

Lucknow was the famous trading centre dealing especially in cotton fabrics.[1] William Finch testifies to the great movement of goods including linen and other merchandise in the region.[2] The English factors were keenly interested in its mercools[3] and according to Burnell the price of Nawagaon mercools rose to 28 rupees per corge (8 rupees higher than that of the previous year), occasioned by the dearness of the corn and cotton and scarcits of piece.[4] Some of the

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1. De Laet, The Empire of the Great Mogol, Tr. by Hoyland, J.S. Bombay, 1928, p. 64; Abdul Halim Sharar says that "during Akbar's reign Lucknow had become a great centre of commerce. It was so prosperous that a French merchant, who to horse trading settled there in the hope of earning a fortune." He further writes that "in 1631 at the commencement of the reign of Emperor Shahjahan a European Traveller Lockett, undertook a journey to India. He wrote "Lucknow was a great centre of trade." Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture; London, 1974, pp. 38, 39.

2. W. Foster, Early Travels in India, Delhi, 1928, p. 175. Moreland writes, "when Gujarat productive resources were temporarily destroyed by the famine of 1630, extensions northward became necessary, and large purchases of cloth were made in the neighbourhood of Agra, while an English Factory was established at Lucknow as a collecting dept for the products of Oudh." From Akbar to Aurangzeb, Delhi 1972, p. 41.

3. The English Factories in India, (1637-1641), Oxford, 1906, p. 278.

4. Factories, (1650-1654). p.9.

specialities found in Lucknow were Akbari cloth,[1] printed cloth and Daryabadi fabrics. The English Company used to buy brown cloth in Lucknow and take it to Broach for bleaching and there by earning considerable profits on the finished products.[2] The calico cloth which the Company purchased from Lucknow was exported to Gombroon and England.[3] According to Bernier the Dutch also owned a mansion at Lucknow and sent their agent to buy Lucknow textiles every season.[4]

The English Factory at Lucknow underwent a temporary eclipse as it was wound up in 1653 but trading activity continued through agents to buy varieties of cloth from Daryabad, Khairabad, Lucknow, Akbarpur and Naygome and consigned via Agra to Baroda, Ahmadabad, Broach and Surat for export to Bantam, Mecca, Basra and various parts in Europe.[5] In 1660 the English Factory again set up at Lucknow with a fresh resolve to carry on the trade in full dimensions[6]

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1. The English Factories in India (1642-45), p. 201.
2. Factories, (1646-1650), p. 276.
3. Factories, (1651-1654), p. 56.
4. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, Delhi, 1972, p. 292.
5. Factories (1642-47), pp. 6, 137, 304.
6. Factories, (1655-60), p. 303; (1665-67), p. 5; Mukherji writes "Lucknow was also a great trading centre in North India in the Mughal Times, the emporium of the variegated cloth goods uncoloured to Agra and Ahmadabad and dyed there to be taken to Gujarat ports for export to foreign market", The Economic History of India, Allahabad, 1967, p. 98, Naqvi writes "Lucknow was the centre of printed cloth such as razai and Tushak," Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803, Bombay, 1968, p. 140.

and so it indulged in procurement and conginment of fine cloth,[1] silk,[2] various chintzes[3] and raw amberties.[4]

Lucknow was also well known for its indigo production which was in high demand by the English Factors, the magnitude of the English transcections may be estimated from the fact that in 1645 the Company had invested 80,000 rupees in transaction to procure Lucknow indigo.[5] The goods so procured consisted of 150 bales of Indigo carried on 200 camels bages to Ahmadabad at fright rate of 15 1/10 rupees per camel's loading.[6] In 1651 Indigo plantation at Biana suffered due to natural calamities and so there was rise in the demand of Lucknow Indigo which rose to 169 bales which were exported to Basra.[7]

Sugar was another item which was procured from Lucknow and Pihani and sent abroad. These two regions were famous centres of sugar production, particularly the Pihani variety was of superior quality.[8] Sugar was also prepared at

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1. Factories, (1618-21), p. 197.
2. Factories, p. 200.
3. Gadsil, D.R., The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times, Delhi, 1974, p. 34.
4. Factories, (1618-21), p. 202.
5. Factories, (1642-45), p. 304.
6. Factories, (1651-54), p. 52.
7. Factories, (1651-54), p. 56.
8. Factories, (1651-54), p. 122. Pihani a Town in the Shahabad Tahsil of Hardoi District, situated in 27°37' N. and 80 1216 miles north of Hardoi town. Imperial Gazt. Vol. XX, p. 136.

Daryapur in pargana Manawa, sarkar Lucknow.[1] The sugar from Lucknow was preferred by the English Factors as its variety from the Deccan was coarse and the sugar production in Malabar was insufficient to cope with the requirement of the English Company.[2] Saltpetre too was also exported to England from this place.[3]

During the reign of Shahjahan the English entreated for concessions of rahdari (Road Toll), and the local faujdar of Lucknow, Haqiqat Khan, pleaded on their behalf with the result that in 1650 the English Company was exempted from its payment. The Comapny's affairs found an encouraging impetus because of the help rendered by the new faujdar at Lucknow. On his accession, Aurangzeb too, continued to extend these trade privileges to the English. Yet the English merchants of

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1. Munshi Gopal Rai Surdaj, Darr al-ulum (Bodlian Library Oxford, MS. Walker, 104), Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, Rot. 185, p. 616.
   درگاه وشبن وغیره ساکنان موضع دریاپور من اعمال پرگنه مانوه مضاف لکهنؤ تابع صوبه اوده
   به بارگاه معدلت پناه رسیده استغاثه نمودند که زرافغانان شکر بری می سازند و محصول
   واجب را بعلت بعضی عذر نمی دهند مع هذا عمال اینجا ازراه بدعت مبلغی بطریق
   کهابهی وکرایه آبکی و توابع وغیره ابواب ممنوعه بارگاه معلی می گیرند - اینمعنی باعث
   پریشانی مستعفان است .

2. Factories, (1651-54), p. 36.

3. Factories, (1651-54), p. 56.

4. Factories, (1646-50), p. 140; (1651-54), p. 11; (1655-60), p. 303.

Lucknow had to face competition with American merchants. The road from Lucknow via Agra to Surat was not safe because of the pillage and plunder at the hands of the robbers on the highway which compelled the English to often abundon the highway from Lucknow to Surat and re-route their consignments from Lucknow to Surat via Ahmadabad.[1]

Daryabad:

It was the main centre of cotton textile industries.[2] The cloth produced here was considered to be of the best quality especially its mercoolis which were purchased in 1641 in large qualities in preference to the broad baftas of Broach.[3] In 1644 English merchants bought nearly 30,000 pieces and sent home nearly half, while the remainder were set apart for shipment to Mecca and Basra. This variety of cloth was blocked at Lucknow, the place of their manufacture in terms of the company's policy.[4] The English merchants preferred Daryabadi cloth to that made in Khairabad because Daryabadi cloth was rather too broad.[5] In 1638 the Comapny had bought

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1. Bernier, p. 292.
2. Ibid.p. 292.
3. Naqvi, op.cit.,p. 136. Moreland writes "In the year 1640 a factory was opened in Lucknow primarily for the supply of Daryabad goods. (From Akbar to Aurangzeb,pp. 127-28.
4. Factories, (1642-45),p.203. Cotton printing, however, still continues to be a successful callin in the city of Lucknow, although Manchester chintzes sell for a shilling per yard, while those printed on the spot cost twenty pence per yard. But the Lucknow chintzes are far superior in colour, the Kukrail and Baita rivers being famous for the purity of the tints their water give to the deep-toned dyes of India, Industrial Arts of India, Delhi, 1974,p. 248.
5. Factories, (1637-41), p. 57.

20,000 pieces of Daryabadi cloth.[1] Daryabadi cloth was not only exported from Agra but was also exported from other trade centres like Patna, Lahore etc.[2] In 1648, the East India Company entered into a contract with Piru Saddar-rang of the Jhanjar caste to provide 20,000 pieces of Daryabadi cloth and 10,000 (bales) of mercools at Surat. They paid an advance of Rs. 10,000 and promised to give Rs. 15,000 on the consignment of the goods. His commission was fixed at 10½ per cent and he was to be reimbursed all transport charges.[3] Daryabadi cloth was popular in European countries,[4] and was exported to England,[5] Guinea,[6] Gombroon,[7] Holland,[8] and Basra.

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1. Factories, p. 192.
2. Peter Mundy mentions that Daryabadi and Khairabadi cloth were known as Patna cloth at Surat. (Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, Hakluyt Society, Vol. VII, p. 156).
3. Factories, (1661-64), pp. 183-89.
4. Factories, (1646-51), p. 299.
5. Factories, (1637-41), p. 232; Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 156.
6. Factories, (1634-36), p. 57.
7. Factories, (1646-50), p. 296.
8. Factories, (1651-54), p. 177.

Khairabad:

It was the centre of fine white cotton cloth.[1] In 1645, Company bought cloth of superior quality known as guzzes or baftas which was made at Khairabad. Dutch merchants had settled there for the purchase of Khairabadi cloth. "The price of this cloth was 25 rupees per cargo (or score) being 20 pieces. Their dimensions were 18 and 18½ Agra covetts long and full ¾ broad, which will stand in net under 20 rupees per cargo". Khairabadi baftas and cloth available at Agra were bought for export to England.[2] Cotton goods from Khairabad and indigo were sent to Agra for shipment to other countries.[3]

Awadh :

It was the chief centre of cotton textile industry. According to Pelsaert "Oudh furnishes rather coarse cloth in pieces of 16 gaz (Yards of about 32 inches).[4] Textile

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1. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 140; Factories (1634-36), p. 146.
2. Factories (1642-45), pp. 254, 300.
   Transactions in the piece goods trade were not, as a rule, carried out in terms of yards, or covads, or hastas, but by the corge or by the piece, a corge being 20 pieces, and Ilahi gaz (or covad), about 40 inches. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 338.
3. Peter Mundy, Vol. II, p. 156.
4. Naqvi, op. cit., p. 53. Moreland writes that "Daryabad and Khairabad quickly came into prominence, along with a cloth known as mercooli, which was manufactured largely in western Oudh". From Akbar to Aurangzeb, pp. 127-28.

trading activities in Awadh and outside show that Awadh cotton manufacturing was on an extensive scale. The Mugols(merchants fron upper India) and Praychaes (estwards i.e. probably, the inhabitants of Oudh and Bihar) swarn here (in Patna) like bees, whose chief provisions are mandyles, girdles,layches and <u>doupathas</u>. These are bought for transport to Lahore on their way to Persia.[1] There is ample evidence to suggest that the traders of <u>Subah</u> of Awadh were actively participating in the markets of India besides those of their own <u>subah</u>. In 1670 jewellers of Ajudhya purchased the jewelleries of Shah Shujah in the market of Morung.[2] As regards woollen goods, Abul Fazl includes wool in the list of imports to Awadh and Kumayun vide his account of 12 <u>subahs</u>.[3]

William Finch describes the trade activities at Awadh, "here is a great trade, and much abundance of Indian asse-horne (Rhinoceros horn) that they make here of bucklers and

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1. <u>Factories</u>, (1618-21), p. 195. Mandil, a turban cloth woven with silk and gold thread; <u>Factories</u>, (1618-21), p. 73, under alaches (cited in <u>Factories</u> Mr. Crook quates Platts <u>Hindi Dict</u>.) as defining ilacha as a kind of cloth woven of (ilachi), but thinks that it is really indentical with alleya. <u>Factories</u>, (1618-21), p. 197n. Hind <u>daupatha</u>, two breadths; a kind of narrow calico much used for garments. Ufflet, however speaks (cited in Factories) of depothas, a kind of clothe of gold of 20 rupees per peace, made at Sultanpur. <u>Factories</u> (1618-21), p. 195n.

2. <u>Akbarat-i Darbari Moalla</u>, 13/9,

3. <u>Ain-i Akbari</u>, Vol. II, p. 183, 285.

diverse sorts of drinking cups. There are of these hornes, all the Indian affirm, some rare of great price, no jewel comparable, some esteeming them the right unicornes horne.[1] Khulasat also mentions the existence of Saltmines at Oudh and manufacture of paper in the reign of Aurangzeb.[2] Pargana Biswa was produced a variety of cotton called sullum for export to Europe".[3]

Bharaich:

It was also a trading centre where merchants from northern mountains came and exchanged their goods.[4] The articles of trade were gold, copper, lead etc.

Other places which were known for the sizable production included Jalalpur which was famous for its cloth while[5] the Dutch merchants were making extensive purchases. East

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1. Cf. A'in i Akbari, Lucknow, 1869, Vol. II, pp. 145-46;
2. Khulasat, Per. MSS,p. 26, cited Kulshrishtha p. 121,110. Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, p.43; Khulasat-ul Hind,p. 49.
3. Sleeman in Oudh, Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 270. (Biswan was celebrated formerly for cotton prints,p.270n. Biswan in Sitapur District laying between 27 22' and 27 44' N. and 80 50' E. The town in said to have been founded about 1350 by a fakir named Biswa Nath. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Delhi, Vol. VIII, p. 250.
4. For detail see, A'in-i Akbari, Vol. II,p. 146, tr. Jarrett, p. 183, Khulasat-ut Tawarikh, p. 43; Khulasat-ul Hind,p. 49.
5. Bernier, p. 292.

India Company also established a factory at Jalalpur for the purchase of piece-goods.[1] Akbarpur, Sultanpur,[2] (for the product of dupatta) and Nawagaon[2a] (for its product of mercools) came to be noted for their textile manufactures.

Gorakhpur:

It was famous for its trade of musk. In 1695 Mohan Lal, the qanungo of Gorakhpur, sent 55 tolas of musk to the imperial government. Musk was the top listed article in the commercial list of Gorakhpur. It was supplied through Yar Ali Beg.[3]

Trade-routes:

Rivers as well as many inland routes were used for the movement of merchandise within the subah. Tavernier mentions that from Patna trade was carried on with Bhutan via Gorakhpur.[4] From Agra merchants used to go to Jaunpur via Lucknow.[5] Bernier points out that there were two routes from Lucknow to Surat. One was direct route from Lucknow through Gwalior and Brampur and another indirect route led via Ahmadabad to Surat.[6]

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1. Factories, (1651-54), p. 87.
2. Factories, (1618-21), p. 195.
2a. Factories, (1651-54), pp. 9, 10.
3. Akhbarat-i Darbari Mo'alla'a, 39/26.
4. Tavernier, Travels in India, London, 1889, Vol.II,p.262.
5. Early Travels in India, p. 175.
6. Bernier, p. 292.

Mines and Minerals:

In Awadh gold was obtained by sifting of dust in the environs of Ajodhya.[1]

Mints : ✓

After the occupation of Lucknow by Babur, silver coins were minted there in 1529 as it is evident from the face of a coin bearing the name of Lucknow. The credit for minting copper coins for the first time at Lucknow goes to Sher Shah. During the reign of Akbar copper coins were struck at Lucknow. The name appear as Zarab-i Lakhnau but a coin of 967 H. (1559 A.D.) meantions the name, Khita-i Lucknow, and another sarkar Lucknow, while another coin of 975 H. (1567 A.D.) has the name Dar-ul Khilafat Lucknow. Gold coins and rupees were struck in the mints of this town during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.[2] Copper and silver coins were minted in the mints of Doken[3] and Gorakhpur.[4]

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1. Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulasat-ul Tawarikh, Delhi 1819, p. 43; Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, p. 149; Khulasat-ul Hind, p. 48; Early Travels in India, p. 176; A'in-i Akbari, Vol. II, p. 145.

2. Recent Inscription and Coins found in Oudh, JUPHS, Vol. 21, 1939, Pl. I, pp. 8-9, while Aziza Hasan describes that "The Subah of Awadh appears for the first time in the decade beginning since 1627. It remains insignificant until the decade ending in 1674, its issues never constituting more than 0.5% till 1656-65. There is a sharp rise in its output after the decade 1665-74. There emerged a new mint at

(Continued on next page.......)

COMMERCIAL TAXES

Rahdari:

Rahdari was a tax realized from the merchants who passed through the imperial highway.[1] *Faujdar* was responsible for the collection of this tax. In the reign of Aurangzeb, Shaikh Jarullah was appointed to collect *Rahdari* in the area extending from Lucknow to the bank of the river Ganges. As he was also *faujdar* of Khairabad, he appointed his deputy to look after the realization of *Rahdari*. There were many cases of complains on record about the realization of illegal cesses and Rahdari. Abdul Azim the *Waqa-i nigar* of Lucknow informs us that Shaikh Abdur Rahmat, *Sawanah-i nigar* and *Jagirdar* of Ajghain built a *Sarai* for the extortion of illegal cesses including the *Rahdari* and had amassed hundreds of

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(Continued from previous page.......

Muazzamabad in this *Subah* in 1685-94. The largest share of this *Subah* is in 1685-94; 8.6% of the total output of the north Indian mints in that decade. Mints of the Mughal Empire, *Proceeding of the Indian History Congress*, Part I, 1967, p. 326.

3. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol. II, (tr. Jarrett)p. 183. In the vicinity of the town (Bahraich), there is a village called Doken.

4. *A'in-i Akbari*, Vol.I, p. 145; *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh*, p.43. *Khulasat ul Hind*, p.49; Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*,1901,p. 148.

1. Heavy sum was occuring from the *Rahdari*. In 1658 due to the natural calamity, the whole country was in a grip of famine. There was dearness of grain. For the relief of the people, the emperor exempted the *Rahdari* which was occuring 85 lakh rupees every year. Hatim Khan, *Alamgir Nama*, f. 88b.

illegal rupees in his treasury.[1] Fazal, Waqa-i navis of pargana Lona wrote to his brother that fifteen to sixteen thousands of rupees were enacted every year under this head of Rahdari. But the amin and faujdar mention only one or two thousand rupees. "In fact it is not a secret that Rahdari is a public money and its acquisition is forbidden.[2]

Sair :

Sair was a tax which was collected over and above mal-o jihat.[3] According to Dastur-ul Amal-i Alamgiri out of 150 mahals of the Subah of Awadh six of them constituted as Sair mahals. Those six mahals were city of Ajodhya, Sarkar Sadr, Bahraich, Lucknow, Khairabad and Gorakhpur. The total sum levied from these mahals amounted to 4 lakhs, 32 thousands

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1. Bhupat Rai, Insha-i Roshan Kalam, MS. copy Department of History, Aligarh, copy No. 20, ff. 5b, 14a.

2. Shiqa Jat-i Alamgir, f. 67b.
نقل نوشته که با فضل خان نوشته بودند واقعه نویس پرگنه لونه به برادر خود نوشته که پانزده یا شانزده
هزار روپیه هر سال از راهداری می آید. امین و فوجدار زیاده از هزار دو هزار روپیه داخل جمع
نمی نماید اصل این راز نیست که راهداری شبهه بیت المال که ام محض حرام است. اگر ... با ...
در جاگیری بود مضایقه نداشت.

3. For details see Dr. M.P. Singh's article 'Sair customs and Mint Revenues at the Gujarat PortI, which he read (at Indian History Congress, Aligarh) in 1975. The mahal here was purely a fiscal unit distinct from territorial cum fiscal division known as pargana comprising a number of villages under the head mahalat-i Sair, we find the following mahals balda Jhallamandi, namakshar, Kotwali, Johari bazar, darul zurb, nakhas, roghan mandi, chub-ghas mandi, mir-bahri etc. Noman Ahmad Siddiqui, Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughal, pp. 41, 42, 105, 155, 157.

and 2 hundred dams annually.[1] In 1951 one rupee per day was granted to Shaikh Karam Ali out of the Sair of pargana Sandila. An order was issued that the amount should be delivered to the Shaikh without any delay and break.[2] This is a conclusive evidence that Sair was collected in several places in the Subah, besides the six mahals mentioned above. It was realized from all the important headquarters of Sarkars and parganas, and formed a major source of income of the Subah.

Garden Tax:

Shaikh Ghulam Mohammad of pargana Sidharpur in the sarkar of Khairabad complained that the garden tax which was 1/5 had already been abolished but it was still realized from the village of Salimpur. He requested the Emperor to forbid the officials to desist from buying (realising) it and make them obey the imperial order.[3]

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1. Dastur-ul Amal-i Alamgiri (MS. British Museum, Rieu 404, Add. 6594) Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Rot. No. 59, ff. 118a, 119a.

2. Allahabad Document, No 13

3. Allahabad Document, copy Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, No. 13.

Custom Duties:

The trade between the Subah of Awadh and Bhutan was carried on via Gorakhpur. The merchants from Patna used to go via Gorakhpur to Bhutan and they had to pay 25 per cent custom duty to the Qazi or the imperial officer.[1]

The above description amply demonstrates that the trade and commerce in the Subah of Awadh was in a flourishing condition. It is significant to note that in spite of abundent raw material, cheap labour and fine fabrics available, the local merchants failed to play a key role in the export trade. The Company took serious steps to establish its monopoly on certain important items of the trade in this Subah. The products of the Subah constituted a vital material for the trade of the Arabian Sea, South East Asia and Europe. Enormous revenue poured into the royal coffers from the commercial taxes such as Sair, custom duties, Rahdari, etc. Provincial Government adopted several measures to give protection to the merchants and craftsman against the extortion and harrasment by the local authorities.

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1. Nigarnama-i Munshi Malikzada, f. 135b.
درین ولا که دو پیه بجهت از سایر پرگنه شده بابت حصه جاگیر سرکار برای معارف حقائق و
معارف آگاه ... کرم سی از ابتدای پانزدهم رمضان المبارک ۱۱۶۵ هجری مقرر نموده شد ـ
باید که بجهت مسطور بلا ناغه بجنسه الیه رسانیده ـ

2. Tavernier, Travels in India, Vol. II, p. 262.

<u>Table Showing The Volume Of Trade</u>

Date	Volume	Origin	Destination	Reference
10.10.1634	10,000 Rs. of goods	Daryabad Khairabad Akbaris	Surat	*Factories*, 1634-36, p.146
11.11.1639	20,000 pieces	Daryabad	Goumbroon Makna	*Factories*, 1637-41, p.192
1639	2,000	Daryabad	Holland	Cited by Moreland *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 133.
29.12.1640	99 bales	Daryabad	England	*Factories*, 1637-41, p.273
28. 1.1640	6,000 pieces	Daryabad	England	*Factories*, 1637-41, p.232.
29.11.1941	20,000 pieces	Daryabad	England	*Factories*, 1637-41, p.312.
27. 1. 1944	100 bales	Daryabad	England	*Factories*, 1642-45, p.137.
28.11.1644	30,000 pieces	Daryabad	Half for England & rest for Makha & Basra	*Factories*, 1642-45, p.204.
7. 12. 1948	261 bales	Lucknow	Ahmdabad	*Factories*, 1646-50, p. 225.
6. 1. 1648	20,000	Daryabad	England	*Factories*, 1646-50, p.188.
25.1. 1650	15 bal-es	Lucknow	England	*Factories*, 1646-50, p. 294.
28.2. 1651	150 bales	Lucknow	Ahmadabad	*Factories*, 1651-54, p.52.
8. 4. 1651	169 bales	Lucknow, Agra	Basra	*Factories*, 1651-54, p. 56.

	1656	3,000 pieces	Daryabad	Surat	*Factories*, 1655-60, p. 70.
	1658	10,000 pieces	Daryabad	via Surat to England	Cited by Moreland, p. 131.
28.2.	1662	20,000	Daryabad	Makha	*Factories*, 1661-64, p. 188.
15.2.	1667	16,000	Daryabad	Surat	*Factories*, 1665-67, p. 263.

CHAPTER - VII

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Religious Life:

With the establishment of Muslim settlements in Awadh, there emerged different Sufi *Silsilahs* and religious movements which tried to reform the social and moral attitudes of the Muslims and create an atmosphere of concord and tolerance among different sections of the local people. It was the measure of their success that this region witnessed no communal tensions or civil strife throughout the seventeenth century, and indirectly contributed to the material advancement of the society. The eminent saints of Chishti, Qadri, Suharwardi and other mystic orders founded their respective centres at different places in the province, and by the example of their own lives and actions endeavoured to inspire and guide the seekers after truth and blessed all those who flocked to them in search of peace and solace.

The Chishti Order:

Radauli in district Barabanki was the chief centre of the flourishing and growth of the Sabiri branch of the Chishti order in the end of the 15th and early 16th centuries. The Chishti order already split into the Nizami and Sabiri orders. The Central organisation of the Chishti Order had been disintegrated and the two branches lingered on in the various provincial and regional centres. While the saints of the Nizami Order established their *Khanqahs* in Gujarat, Deccan, Malwa and Bengal, Shaikh Abdul Huqq chose Raudauli in Awadh as the vantage point for the efflorescence of the Sabiri affiliation of the Chishti Order. His *khanqah* became the nucleus of the Sabiri *silsilah*

in the Northern India and attracted devotees from far and near in large number.[1] His life and discourses were compiled by his grandson's chief vicegerent, Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi under the title, Anwar-al-Uyun.

Shaikh Ahmad Abdul Huq was succeeded of his son Shaikh Arif who too attained eminence as a great saint of the Order at Rudauli. The latter was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Muhammad Rudaulvi. His Chief khalifa was the famous saint Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi whose name and account is given in contemporary chronicles and Tazkiras.[2] At that time the town of Rudauli had become a scence of unrest and turmoil. According to the Lataifi-Quddusi and the Afsana-i-Shahan "the Muslim was replaced by Hindu domination in Rudauli, Islamic observances were suspended and pork was openly sold in the market."[3] Shaikh Abdul Quddus was forced to migrate from Rudauli to Shahabad near Delhi and from there he went to Gangoh (District Saharanpur).[4]

Abdul Quddus is credited with having expanded the activities of the Sabiri-Chishti Order in parts of Northern India with Rudauli, Shahabad, Gangoh and Agra as its chief centres

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1. Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, I, p. 384.
2. Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht, Prof. K.A. Nizami, p. 218.
3. Lataifi-Quddusi, p. 31; Afsana-i Shahan, Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i- Chisht, p. 218
4. Ibid.

and expounded its concepts and ideology.[1]

Curiously enough the author of Khazinat-ul Asfiya enumerates Kabir in the list of Chishti saints under the caption 'Shaikh Kabir Julaha (the weaver) Qadda Sirruhu, Murid and Khalifa of Shaikh Taqi and one of the most accomplished and famous Auliya Allah of his age who concealed his spiritual attainments after the fashion of the Malametis and adopted Hindu language as the vehicle of his sublime verses and spiritual thought. He was a great monist who adopted the imagery of Sri Krishna and Sakhi for the dissemination of his teachings.[2] This inclusion points to the Kabir tradition in later times and also reveals the measure of elasticity within the fold of mystic fraternities. Maulana Abdullah Ansari from Sultanpur was a Chishti saint who was reckoned among the great faqirs and scholars of his age. He lived from the time of Sher Shah to that of Akbar and is said to have done a lot to uphold monism and revive the Prophetic traditions and 'fight against Akbar's heresies' as the author puts it. The Emperor exiled him from India and he migrated to Hijaz but returned

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1. Lataif-i- Quddusi, pp. 31,63; Gulzar-i Abrar, pp. 239,582-83 Akhbar-ul Akhyar, pp. 221-224; Zubdat-ul Maqamat, pp. 89-90; Safinat-ul Auliya, p.101; Khazinat-ul Asfiya, Vol.I, pp.416-18; Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh and Contemporary Rulers, M. Zameeruddin Siddiqi, Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1969, pp. 305-11.

2. Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, I, p. 446.

later on and then was poisoned by the order of Akbar as he was considered dangerous rival to the enforcement of Akbar's religious ideals and policy.[1]

The name of the famous Hindi poet, Malik Muhammad Jayasi occurs in the category of Chishti saints.[2] According to the author of Maarijul-Wilayat Jayasi lived upto the end of Akbar's reign. He was the author of a number of Hindi works like the Padmavat, Khamhavat, Posti Nama, Holi Nama etc. According to the author of Shajra-i Chishtia, he was a disciple of Shaikh Ilahadad who helped him reach the pinnacle of perfection of the mystical stages in a little time.[3] He died in 1049 A.H.

Another saint of the Chishti affiliation was Pir Muhammad from Salon. He was a consummate sufi and an adept in exoteric and esoteric sciences. He was a disciple of Shaikh Abdul Karim. Most of Pir Mohammad's disciples were men of profound knowledge, learning, piety and penitence. He was a contemporary of Pir Muhammad of Lucknow. Many of the latter's disciples left him and joined Pir Mohd. Saloni. The author of Akhbar-ul Auliya mentions a large number of the miracles worked by him. He was a prolific writer of Persian and Hindi verses.[4] He died in 1074 AH.

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1. Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, I, pp. 447-48.
2. Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, I, p. 473.
3. Ibid
4. Khazinat-ul- Asfiya, I, p. 480.

Shaikh Junayd who hailed from Mohan and settled at Sandila is credited with having popularised the Chishti Order and practices in Awadh. He practised the Zikr Johr (loud recollections) by the river bank at night. He laid great emphasis on sama or audition. He composed verses in Arabic, Persian and Hindi. He composed a work on Fiqh in werse, entitled the Tabaq or Sharhi.[1] This is unique that a sufi engrossed in his ecstasies could compose a verse on the problems of Fiqh. It is ~~a pointer~~ to the fact that the mystics of the Chishti order in spite of their spiritual pre-occupations, did not lose sight of the compatibility of the Tariqat with shariat. Another feature of note in the life and conduct of this saint was that he depended for his subsistance on the toil as he used to cut fire-wood from the jungle and sell it in the market to earn his livelihood and gave a part of that earning in charity to the needy.[2] He died in 1078 A.H.[3]

Shaikh Abdul Jalil Chishti Lucknawi was another eminent saint who introduced Awaisi affiliation in the Order as he claimed spiritual descent direct from the founder of the silsilah in India, Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti without any inter-cession.[4] He was a copious writer and composed many works like

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1. Khazinat-ul Asfiya, I, p. 481.
2. Ibid., I, p. 481.
3. Ibid.,
4. Khazinat-ul Asfiya, I, p. 469.

Rumuzat, Maktubat, Asrariya which are replete with spiritual and sufistic discussions. According to the author of Shajra-i-Chishti he died in 1043 A.H.[1]

The Chishti order had firmly established its foothold in Awadh long before the formation of the subah of Awadh under the Mughals. But the Mughal domination in that region witnessed the acme of perfection of the votaries of the silsilah and the widening of its scope, its teachings spread to distant corners of the region, its saints guided and inspired a number of devotees and disciples to carry the message of truth and spiritual elevation beyond the confines of the subah and to other regions of India and even abroad. Thus the Chishti silsilah in Awadh became the spearhead of a wider spiritual movement in India.

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1. Khazinat-ul Asfiya, I, p. 469.

The Qadiri Order:

The Qadiri Order gaied a firm ground in Awadh due to the prodigious efforts of its most outstanding saint, Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Bansawi who died on 6 shawwal, 1136/ 1724 at the age of 92 years at Bansi in the Basti district of Awadh region.[1] The *silsilah* struck deep roots in Awadh by the new orientation that he gave to its concepts and outlook. Consequently Bansi became the chief centre and place of reverence for the votaries of the order who developed it in the 18th and 19th centuries.

His life and contribution to the dissemination of the teachings and the organisation of the Order are recorded in a number of contemporary and later works like the *Malfuz-i Razzaqi* the *Manaqibi-i Razzaqiya*, the *Umdat-ul Wasail*, the *Karamat-i-Razaqiyah* etc.[2]

Abdur Razzaq Banswi who occupies a pre-eminent place not only in the history of the Qadiri Order in India but represents a new current of thought and ideology of sufism in the long span of its existence in India.[3]

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1. *Persian Literature*, Story, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 107; *Malfuz-i-Razzaqi*, pp. 148-49; *Maasir-al-Kiram*, p. 220, *Subhat-al-Marjan*, pp. 94-95, *Hadaiqal Hanafiyah*, p. 445, Rehman Ali, p. 241; *Altaf-al Rahman*, *Ahwal-i Ulamai Farangi Mahal*, p.771 Bankipur XVII, p. 78.
2. The authors respectively are Mohd. Khan Razzaqi, Mulla Nizam Uddin Sihalawi, Maulvi Waliullah Farangi Mahali, Nawab Mohd. Khan Shahjahanpuri.
3. *Malfuz-i-Razzaqi*, p. 3, *Manaqib-i- Razzaqiyah*, p.

Syed Abdur Razzaq was sent by his father to Rudauli in the company of a servant for the acquisition of knowledge. On the way he was blessed and confided mystic knowledge and Nisbat by a saint, Inayat Ullah.[1] Abdur Razzaq was the disciple and khalifah of an eminent Qadiri saint at Ahmadabad Gujarat, named Syed Abdus Samad Khuda Numa.[1a]

He gave new dimensions to the concepts of the silsilah and the mystic theosophy in general by discarding the life of a recluse in isolation and retirement but he travelled widely in search of employment and remained in military service at various places in India including the Deccan.[2] The performance of duties pertaining to his employment during the day and devotions and prayers at night had become customary with him.[3] His mentor, Abdus Samad Khuda Numa had permitted him with approbation to continue to take up military service which would not interfere with his spiritual attainments and efforts at acquisition of higher spiritual stages along the mystic path. In the words of Syed Abdus Samad his chilla was on the horseback

فرمود چلّه وی بر پشت اسپ است -

It is said that whatever he gained while on horseback in the

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1. Malfuz-i Razzaqi, pp. 8-9; Manaqib-i Razzaqiyah, p.

1a. Malfuz-i- Razzaqi, pp. 11-12.

2. Malfuz-i Razzaqi, pp. 22, 25, 11; Manaqib-i Razzaqiyah, p.

3. Malfuz-i Razzaqi, pp. 22-26.

midst of his military employment, the most accomplished saints could achieve by their prolonged constant devotions in privacy.[1] In this way Syed Abdur Razzaq by his own example demonstrated the utility and efficacy of the pursuit of the normal avocations of life together with the attainments of the highest order in the mystic way. The worldly life is no way an impediment in the way of the spiritual life if only a balance is struck between the two.

Another important feature of his life and work was his cosmopolitan outlook vis-a-vis the non-conformists. He did not look down upon the Malamatis and be-shara or Azad faqirs but entertained and honoured them despite their unorthodox and impious ways. An incident described in the Malfuz-i-Razzaqi illustrates the point further. Once an Azad faqir was grinding bhaung to prepare it for use. A Naqshbandi dervish saw him and snatching his instruments broke them and threw away the intoxicant. The faqir burst into tears at his loss. Syed Abdur Razzaq was vexed at this harsh attitude of the Naqshbandi dervish and cautioned him to behave and fear God.[2] The story manifests the distinction in the approaches of the Qadiris and the Naqshbandis. While the Qadiri Order in Awadh whose protagainst was Syed Abdur Razzaq himself preached accommodation and sympathetic treatment

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1. Malfuz-i Razzaqi, pp. 26-27.

2. Ibid., pp. 26-27.

to the non-orthodox sections of the Muslims or those who followed a distinctive theosophy in sufism to conceal their inner felicity and spiritual advancement, the ordinary Naqshbandi mystic would rally round orthodoxy to enforce the edicts of the Shariat and thereby reduce the mystic catholicity to subservience to rigid legism and hair-splitting theology.

Syed Abdur Razzaq's constantly benevolent treatment of the Malamatis[1] and the unbridled faqirs[2] constituted a humane approach of a kindred heart to those who made voceal experiments in religious ways and methodology, idealogy and practices.

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1. Malamatis: a group of Muslim divines and dervishes who in order to conceal their inner attainments and keep aloof from the people, indulged in certain seemingly anti-shariat actions or habits such as eating during the day in the month of the Ramazan when fasting is obligatory upon all.

2. 'Unbridled faqirs' is equivalent of 'Be qaid and ba shara' orders. Faqirs belonging to such orders roamed about and utterly neglected observance of the laws of the inner self of the votaries of their peculiar creed. They indulged in all sorts of things like wine-drinking, neglect of the obligatory prayers etc.

The Banswi saint upheld novel and liberal ideas as to some of the controversial questions of religious beliefs and intricate social problems. For instance his views about the sectarian polemics and deprecation of the Shiite tirade were quite simple and liberal. While a number of sufis composed works in reputation of the Shiite doctrine and practices[1], Abdur Razzaq befriended the Shias by laudatory expositions to honour the Shiite practices like the profuse ceremonies connected with Muharram.[2] He would offer _fatiha_ at the _Tazias_[3], keep fast on the 10th of Muharram and approve of the Muharram observance with profusion of rituals and ceremonies. Once he saw Imam Husain in dream standing by a _tazia_ and asking " O Abdur Razzaq why don't you come to his (Imam Husain's house) is, the Tazia. Next morning he visited the Tazias to make amends for his failure.[4] Since he died in 1724, only two years of Burhanul Mulk Saadat Khan's appointment to the _subahdari_ of Awadh, it cannot be safely assumed that his attitude was moulded by active Shiite influence and publicity and repressive measures. His were the views of a great sufi

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1. _Raddi-Rawafiz_, Sheik Ahmad Sirhindi; _Raddi-Rawafiz_, Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi; _Tuhfai Asna-Asharia_, Shah Abdul Aziz.
2. _Malfuzi-Razzaqi_, PP. 104-105, 136-37 Manaqi-Razzaqi, PP. 41.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

saint who was unaffected by political considerations, sectarian propaganda and polemical approach.

Another significant feature of Syed Abdur Razzaq's catholicity of views and spirit of accomodation is afforded by his expositions regarding Hindu religious system and Hindu deities and divines. He was a great admirer of Sri Krishna,[1] and his ecstatic love, and the monistic philosophy of the Gita and claimed to have established some sort of liason and spiritual relationship with him.[2] There are a number of references in both the <u>Malfuz-i Razzaqi</u> and the <u>Manaqib-i-Razzaqiya</u> to this effect.[3]

This tolerant attitude was closely interwoven with the liberal tradition of the Qadiri order but Syed Abur Razzaq Banswi gave it the complexion of his personality and proclivities.[4]

This again was in consonance with the spirit of the time as one of Syed's contemporaries, Mirza Mazhar Jani Janan wrote in one of his letters in a forceful language to prove

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1. <u>Malfuz-i Razzaqi</u>, pp. 74,78,80,81,126; <u>Manaqib-i Razzaqi</u>, p. 50.

2. <u>Ibid.</u>

3. <u>Ibid</u>.

4. <u>Malfuz-i Razzaqi</u>, p. 80, 126, 135.

the value and validity of Hinduism, the Vedantic philosophy, monestic austerity and the ecstatic love of Sri Krishna who, he said, "was immensed in the fire of the Divine Love."[1]

Syed Banswi claimed to receive Ilham (or mystic revelations from God) in Arabic under the caption Khabar-Mi dihad (خبر مجاهد).[2] This was to draw a distinction between the Prophet and mystic revelations.[3] He upheld the dignity of labour by his employment in military service and later by taking up agricultural pursuit.[4] He gave a new dimension to the mystic effort, a new message to the sufic mission and attached a significant role to the leadership of great mystics when he declared that the great sufis were virtually the heirs to the Prophetic mission to lead mankind.[5] They were the beacon lights to guide the human endeavour in right direction.[6]

Saints Belonging to Miscellaneous Orders:

Shaikh Bhikan of Kakori

He was both an eminent sufi and an outstanding theologian and used to give instruction in Shahibi or seven

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1. Kalimat-i Tayyibat, letter 14.
2. Malfuz-i Razzaqi, pp. 120-21.
3. Malfiz-i Razzaqi, pp. 124, 156, 117.
4. Malfuz-i Razzaqi, pp. 117, 124, 156.
5. Manaqib-i Razzaqiya, pp. 12, 20, 13.
6. Malfuz-i Razzaqi, pp. 140-41.

systems of Qirat or recitation of the Quran. He traced his spiritual succession from Mir Sayyid Ibrahim of Irij. He would not divulge the sufic mysteries in public.[1]

He would not listen to music and outwardly deprecated it. The author, Abdul Qadir Badauni reverntly mentions of his meeting with Shaikh Bhikan at Lucknow. He also mentions that the Shaikh did not like to teach works of logic. The Shaikh died in 891/1573-74.[2]

Shaikh Tajuddin of Lucknow

He was one of the successors of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and was a master of the art of exorcism. He had a great reputation for asceticism, holy poverty and resignation to the Divine Will, and was generous and open-handed. He gave religious instruction at Lucknow and died there.[3]

Shaikh Muhammad Qalandar of Lucknow

He was a contemporary of Badauni who used to visit him. The Shaikh was a disciple of Shaikh Bahlul. He devoted himself to the service of God and to asceticism. He lived the life of a recluse in a garden planted by him and subsisted on its produce.

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1. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, vol. III, p. 24.
2. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, vol. III, p. 24.
3. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, vol. III, p. 25.

Shaikh Hidya of Khairabad

He was a learned sufi who spent many years of his early life in teaching and giving instruction to a large number of students. He was a disciple of Shaikh Safi, the spiritual successor of Shaikh Said. Later he devoted himself wholly to sufistic rules and founding an order of devotees. A keen appreciation of the ecstatic songs and dances (of dervishes) and an overpowering religious ecstacy were comprised in his daily system of religious exercises and were never omitted.[1] He avoided visiting the worldly men of position and rank and accepting feasts. His son Shaikh Abul Fath was one of the most pre-eminent learned men of his time.[2] Towards the end of his life the Shaikh visited Akbar at Fathpur Sikri on imperial summons and was welcomed by the Emperor who gave him a subsistence allowance. The Shaikh died in 993/1585.[3]

Mir Sayyid Alauddin of Awadh

He was one of the eminent saints of Awadh whose piety and penitence had impressed his contemporaries with admiration and amazement. According to Badauni "he was one of God's

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1. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Vol. III, p. 27.
2. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Vol. III, p. 27.
3. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Vol. III, p. 27.

most wonderful works, and many miracles are ascribed to him. Notwithstanding the glorious position and exalted degree to which he attained he would sometimes declare holy mysteries and sacred truths in verse."[1]

The Mir was attended by a galaxy of holy men who attained celebrity as great saints of the age. One of them was his own son, Mir Sayyid Mahru. Another was Mir Sayyid 'Ali-yi-Nalhari " who was subject to overpowering fits of religious ecstasy, and always remained secluded, and in whom a wounderful degree of religious poverty and separation from the world was apparent. He spoke remarkably well on the mysticism of the sufis."[2] Badauni waited upon him in Kant-o Gola in the *sarkar* of Sambhal and was deeply impressed by his spiritual discourses.[3] Mir Sayyid Ali was waylaid and killed by the robbers in 998/ 1589-90.[4]

Shaikh Hamzah of Lucknow

He was the grandson of Malik Adam, the Kakar, one of the nobles of Sultan Sikandar and Ibrahim Lodi. Shaikh Hamzah built the tomb of his grandfather.[5]

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1. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 62; *Safinat-ut Auliya*, 334.
2. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 62.
3. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 62.
4. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 62.
5. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 62.

Shaikh Hamzah had vigorous love for God and exhibited queer manners. His style of reciting the Holy Quran was very impressive, and he was always seen reading it. He paid great attention to those who were closely associated with him and Badauni counts himself among such persons. He used to read omens.[1]

Qazi Mubarak of Gopamau

Qazi Mubarak of Gopamau was a saint, a scholar and a *Qazi* all combined in one. He used to perform the duties of his office as a *qazi* with great integrity, honesty and devotion.[2] He was a disciple, a pupil and a devotee of Shaikh Nizamuddin of Ambethi and studied in his hospice.[3] The Shaikh had great regard for the Qazi and bestowed utmost care on his education and moral and spiritual training.[4] Two disciples and pupils of the Qazi, named Budh and Sayyid Muhiyy, attained eminence at Gopamau as scholar and mystics.[5]

Sadr-i Jahan of Pihani

He was a learned Sayyid, a saint and a scholar of

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1. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 63.
2. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 63.
3. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 130.
4. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 130.
5. *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 131.

repute. He acquired his great learning from Shaikh Abdur Nabi who had been appointed chief <u>mufti</u> of the empire. He was later in Akbar's reign appointed <u>sadr</u> of the empire.[1]

The <u>subah</u> of Awadh was also rich in the cultural heritage of the non-Muslim movements, both of the Bakhti and the orthodox saint. Some eminent saints of the period dwelt on the qualities of tolerance, human brotherhood, well-being of all mankind, love of the Diety and devotional favour to excite ecstasy and realisation of the essence of the Divine Existence.

One such saint was Jagjivandas born at Sardaha in the Barabanki district in 1682. He belonged to the school of Kabir. His activities were centred mostly at Kotwa between Barabanki and Lucknow. His teachings are contained in his three principal works (1) Jnan Prahas, (2) Mahapralaya and Pratham Granth.[2] His disciples came from different castes and classes including the Brahmins, Thakurs, Chamars and Muslims.[3] "He succeeded in establishing some community of thought between himself and Islam. Two at least of his disciples were Muslims."[4]

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1. <u>Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh</u>, Vol. III, p. 141.
2. Tara Chand, <u>Influence of Islam on Indian Culture</u>, p.200.
3. Tara Chand, <u>Influence of Islam on Indian Culture</u>, p.200.
4. <u>Satnami's</u>, Grierson, ERE Vol. XI as quoted in <u>Influence of Islam on Indian Culture</u>, p. 200.

He taught the doctrine of the Unity of God whom he considered as <u>nirguna</u> or beyond all qualities. He emphasized self-surrender and indifference towards the world. He taught that the ultimate aim of mankind is fusion with the Divine Reality through the help of a guru. Truth, gentleness and harmlessness were the main virtues in his moral code. He also taught inwardness of religion and the ways to meditate on God. All human beings were considered outrinsieally and essentially equal by him.[1]

Dulandas was a disciple of Jagjivandas who reorganised the Satnami order. He lived in the Rai Bareili district. He speeks of Mansur, Shamsi Tabriz, Nizamuddin,Hafiz in his poems.[2]

Palloo Das was a resident of village Nagpur Jalalpur in the district of Faizabad. He belonged to the school of Bhika. He was a saint of the kind of Kabir and was familiar with Sufi ideas and imagery and attempted the same kind of reconciliation between the Hindu and Muslim religious ideas and traditions.[3]

But the highest place of eminence among the Hindu sints of Mughal Awadh pertains to Tulsidas, saint, poet and Bhakti reformer. He composed a number of works for examples

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1. <u>Influence of Islam on Indian Culture</u>, pp. 200-1.
2. <u>Influence of Islam on Indian Culture</u>, p. 207.
3. <u>Influence of Islam on Indian Culture</u>, p. 209.

Gitavali, Kanitta Ramayana and the Ramcharitramanas, the last one being the most famous. He was a master of both Awadhi and Brajabhasa.[1]

The Ramacharitramanasa presents the tenderness of Rama's life and the disintegration of the Sanatana Dharma.[2] Ramacharitramanasa is classed among the best of devotional literature of India. Tulsidas propounded, enriched and disseminated the Vaishnava ideology through Rama cult. He described the nature of God with and without form, enunciated the doctrine of Karma, explained that the world as eeen through space, time and causation is Maya and described the Jiva or the embodied soul and the relationship between God, Maya and the embodied soul. He explained the nine kinds of Bhakti to purify the life and conduct of a Bhakta. He laid stress on the repetition of the name of God and devotion to Him and control of the senses for the cultivation of Bhakti and urged on his followers to seek holy company. By his great epic and the ideology preached through his works, Tulsidas made a great contribution to the Bhakti-marga. His literary and religious contribution shed lustre to the greatness to the period of Mughal Awadh.[3]

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1. The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, pp. 395-98; The Indian Muslims, pp. 321, 378.
2. The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, p. 398.
3. The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, pp. 399-407.

There were a number of other saints and religious leaders who contributed a lot to the growth of learning and piety in Awadh. But space does not permit a full discussion of their achievements and ideals.

The foregoing description of the main sufi orders and religious trends affords a glaring testimony to the highly spiritual attainments of the great religious leaders and their abiding legacy in Awadh. This _subah_ too did not remain outside the pale of the deeply religious forces that dominated the social life all over India during the period.

The Hindu and Muslim movements of the time lifted the social life of the people to a higher spiritual plane, taught them the moral values of solitude, perseverence, inner contentment and human fraternisation. The message of Muhammad Jayasi, Tulsidas, Jagjivandas, Dulandas, Paltoo Das and a host of other Bhakti saints permeated the religious life in Awadh and set new trends of human valuesto endear all of mankind, elevate the depressed classes as fullfledged citizens and worth of all dignity and social equality and sang the praises of God, oneness of human society and religious harmony between differing faiths.

The region also thronged with the Muslim divines and sufi saints of great repute and piety who devoted their entire lives to uphold the dignity of man, the sanctity of the

religious concepts of all religions and their dogmas and rituals, the purification of the individual self of all leaser elements prompted by greed, revenge, dissipation and deceit and denuniciation of the evil self and the human ego.

The Chishti and the Qadiri orders, in particular flourished and grew in importance in Awadh. The saints belonging to these orders were men of stertey character who had renounced all worldly pursuits and had taken to a life dedicated to the promotion of the moral well-being of mankind. The spirit accommodation, concord and peace in the world, breathed by the divines of these <u>silsilahs</u> had a deep impact on the social behaviour of the people in Awadh. Numerous <u>khanqahs</u> spread over the region in the Mughal period did a lot in regulating human life and improving the novices of inter-relations between religious communities and sectarian groups.

Saints, might differ in ideological details or attitudes to groups of persons or institutions, their religious formulae and mystic practices might be widely divergent but their social ideals and urges to benefit mankind in moral and material fields were identical and were guided by impersonal and attruistic motives of a high order.

LEARNING AND LITERATURE

During the medieval period Awadh was one of the most important and famous centres of learning and literature in northern India. It was part of the region known as 'Purab' about which Emperor Shah Jahan had remarked, "Purab is like Shiraz of our realm."[1] It is true that the subah of Awadh under the Mughals was studded with madrasas and colleges of higher learning where learned and reputed teachers imparted instructions to the regular as well as non-regular students who flocked to them from far and wide.

The contribution made by the scholars and theologians who flourished in the Mughal subah of Awadh to the Islamic sciences and theological learning is remarkably impressive and rich. Particularly their contribution to the development of Quranic exegesis, traditions (Hadith), fiqh (Jurisprudence) kalam (scholastic theology), mysticism (Tasawwuf), Arabic and Persian literature, poetry, prose, tazkira, medicine, logic philosophy etc is great and commendable.

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1. Shah Jahan is said to have remarked "پورب شیراز مملکت ماست" Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 222; Subhat-ul Marjan as quoted in Hayat-i Jalil, p. 38; Hindustan ki Qadim Darsghahai, p.35.

2. Hayat-i-Jalil, p. 37.

Tafsir or Commentaries on the Quran:

Ever since the Abbaside period the Muslim scholars started writing commentaries on the Quran. As the Quran is replete with many historical and metaphysical references, and is allegorical in many places making its meaning and import ambiguous and sometimes paradoxical it needs explanation of difficult words and phrases, and solution of the controvercial cancelled passages (the principle of Naskh and Ayati-Mansakh). Numerous problems like these necessitated a proper and systematic science to explain the meaning, purport, the underlying idea and concepts and the commandments, prohibitions, the doctrines and beliefs as well as the social laws and canons. Hence the science of the Tafsir of the Quran came into being.[1] Numerous works like Baisavi, Kashshaf, Madrak etc had already been composed outside India. What remained to be done in India was the composition of commentaries on the commentaries or the marginal notes and the full works written from specific points of view.

The following works written in Awadh belong to this period.

Al-Tafsirat al-Ahmadiyyah fi Bayan al-Ayat al-

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1. Al-Minhaj, p. 4; Lucknow: The last Phase of an Oriental Culture, p. 95.

<u>Shariyyah</u>[1] "التفسيرات الاحمدية في بيان الايات الشرعية"

commonly known as <u>Tafsir-i Ahmadi</u> of Ahmad b. Abu Said, <u>alias</u> Mulla Jiwan (d. 1130/1717). He was a learned scholar and teacher of Aurangzeb who had a high regard for his high learning and scholarship.[2] His another work, <u>Nur-al-Anwar</u>, a Commentary on <u>al-Manar</u> is a well-known text book on <u>Usul al-Fiqh</u>.

The work is not a commentary on the whole Quran but deals with the verses bearing on the commandments and prohibitions and the author claims to have been the first to analyse the Quranic text on the <u>Ahkam</u>. He gives a list of the <u>Ayat</u> on <u>Ahkam</u> and those of injunctions. His inference from the <u>Ayat</u> on <u>Akham</u> are striking and peculiar. For instance he observes on the 27th verse of the second <u>surah</u> which runs as follows

" هو الذي خلق لكم ما في الارض جميعا "

(It is He who has created for you all that is on the earth). From this verse he infers lawfulness is a root principle in every thing.[2]

<u>Glosses and commentaries on the prevlous commentaries:</u>

<u>Al-Hilalayn Hashiyat al-Jalalayn</u> by Maulvi Turab Ali of Lucknow (1281/1864) who was the author of several books

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1. Zubaid Ahmad, <u>India's Contribution to Arabic Literature</u>, p.18.
2. Rahman Ali, <u>Tazkirah-i Ulama Hind</u>, p.45; <u>Maasir-ul Kiram</u>, p.216; <u>Khajinat-ul Asfiya</u>, vol. II, p. 365; <u>Al-Minhaj</u>, p.62.
3. <u>Maasir-ul Kiram</u>, f. 216; <u>India's Contribution to Arabic Literature</u>, pp. 18-19.

like (1) Shams-duha al-Izalat al-duja, (2) al-Ashrat al-Kamila al-Tahqiqat al-zakiyyat fil Tawahomati al-Sadiyya, (3) Hashia-i-Sharhi Mulla Jami, (4) al-Ujalat al-daqiqa fi-Masail al-Aqiqah, al-Taliq al-Hasan ala Sharhi Mulla Hasan, (5) Hashia-i Sharhi Sullam Maulvi Hamd Allah Sandili, (6) Risla dar Fazail Hazrat Siddiq, (7) Risala dar Fazail Hazrat Usman etc.[1]

"His glosses are not mere Hashiyah they are in the nature of Sharhi Mamzuj and so more comprehensive and more copious than the kamalayn, with this difference that, the later deals with the whole of the Quran while the Hilalayn is confined to the last juz."[2]

Hadis:

Lucknow and its suburbs had attained reputation as an important centre of hadis learning since the second half of the 10th century A.D. when the great saint, scholar and eminent traditionist Shaikh Ziauddin migrated from Medina to India and settled at Kakori, a suburb of Lucknow.[3] He taught hadis literature to a number of pupils who gathered around

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1. India's Contribution to Arabic Literature, p. 52; Rahman Ali, Tazkirah-i Ulama-i Hind, pp. 35-36.

2. India's Contribution to Arabic Literature, p. 32.

3. Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Medieval Indian History, 305.

him to learn Sahih al-Bukhari and Jami al-Usul. He died at Kakori towards the close of the 10th century A.D. He was the founder of the tradition of hadis literature which became a mark of distinction to a succession of learned scholars of Kakori.[1]

His tradition was carried on by Shaikh Bhikari of Kakori (1485-1573). He studied Sahih al-Bukhari, Sunan of Abu Dawud and Jami al-Usul at Jhansi and Lucknow under Ibrahim bin Muhammad Baghdadi and Ziauddin al-Muhaddith al-Madani respectively. His work on Usul al-Hadis opened the way for future Traditions.[2]

In our period Mir Sayyid Mubarak Bilgrami (1624-1703) earned distinction as a great Traditionist. He came from the ancient family of the Wasiti Sayyids settled at Bilgram since 614/1217.[3] He learned hadis at Hardoi from a pupil of Shaikh Nurul Haq b. Abdul al-Haq al-Dihlawi. Then he went to Delhi and became a pupil of Shaikh Nurul Haq and obtained sanad of hadis from him.[4] He did a lot for the spread of hadis learning at Bilgram until his death in Rabi 1, 1151/1703. For his deep erudition and consummate scholarship he

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1. Tazkirai-Mashahiri-Kakori, p. 18; India's Contribution to the Study of Hadis Literature, p. 113.

2. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, vol. III, p. 41; Haig, p, 42; Tazkira-i Ulama-i Hind, p. 33; Mashahiri Kakori, p. 45.

3. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 94; Tazkirah-i Ulama-i Hind, p. 174.

4. Ibid.

earned the title of Qutb-ul Muhaddis.[1]

The school of Shaikh Mubarak at Bilgram produced many famous scholars of hadis particularly Saiyid Muhammad Fayz b. Sadiq al-Bilgrami and Abdul Jalil Bilgrami. The first a hereditary zamindar of Bilgram, made a Persian translation of the Shamail al-Nabi and the Hish Hasin. He died in 1130/ 1716.[2] But the most famous of the traditionists of Awadh was Syed Abdul Jalil Bilgrami. He was born in 1071 A.H. at Bilgram, acquired the traditional and rational sciences from Maulana Ghulam Naqshband Lucknawi and the Sanad of Hadith from Syed Mubarak Muhaddith of Bilgram. He was a distinguished scholar of Tafsir, hadis, history syntax, literature and a remarkable poet in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi.[3]

He served as Bakhshi and the sawanih-nigar from Aurangzeb's reign to that of Farrukhsiyar. In the year 1111 AH when Aurangzeb conquered the fort of Satara, Abdul Jalil composed eleven quatrains to commenorate the event.[4] He composed two risalas or tracts entitled Gulzar Fateh Shah Hind and Tutinamah aur Firozi Shah Alamgir to record the event.[5] He died

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1. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 94; Tazkirah-i Ulama-i Hind, p. 174.
2. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 245.
3. Hayat-i Jalil, p. 109. Aziz Ahmad, Intellectual History of Muslim in India, p. 90; Tazkirah-i Ulama-i Hind, p. 108.
4. Hayat-i Jalil, vol. II, pp. 43-44; Intellectual History of Muslim in India, p. 80.
5. Tazkirah-i Ulama-i Hind, p. 108.

at Shahjahanabad on 23 Rabi II, 1138 A.H. and was buried at Bilgram.[1] He had Avaisain Nisbat with the founder of Qadiri order, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani. He was an adept in the art of music. He was an acknowledged expert in the literature of hadis and same eminent scholars of the day, like Syed Ali Masum Madani, author of Salfat-ul-Hasar who met him at Aurangabad and Shaikh Gulam Naqshband Lucknawi spoke high of him.[2]

He was posted as bakhshi and waqia-nigar of Gujarat His patrons included Shab Husain Husain Khan, diwan of the sarkar Lucknow, Syed Mohd. Faiz zamindar of Bilgram and Prince Azimush Shan who visited Bilgram in 1111 A.H.[3] and in whose company, Abdul Jalil went to the Deccan.[4] There he was introduced to Aurangzeb who conferred on him a mansab, a jagir of some mahals in Saipur near Bilgram and the post of bakhshi and waqai nigar in Gujarat,[5] later transferred to the Bakhshiship, Sawanih nigar and Waqai navis of sarkars of Bhakkar and Sewestan in Sind.[6] He returned to Bilgram in 1132 A.H. then went to Shahjahanabad and gave the sanad of Hadith to a number

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1. Tazkira-hi Ulama-i Hind, p. 109.
2. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 258.
3. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 259.
4. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 260.
5. Hayat-i Jalil, p. 205.
6. G.M. Sufi, Al-Minhaj, p. 115.
7. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 261.

of pupils. All the nobles from the reign of Aurangzeb to that of Mohd. Shah served him highly for his honesty, integrity and scholarship. He continously pursued his literary interests during his tenures of service. He left a big library of his MSS. He was the inventor of a certain script called Khat-i-Tab'i. He edited a text on Sahib of Bukhari which he was at Bhakkar.[2]

Mir Azad Bilgrami (1704-85)

He was an outstanding personality of his age who contributed the following books:

(1) Daw al-Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari, a commentary of the Sahih al Bukhari upto Kitab al Zakat based on Qastallani's Irshad-al Sari, (2) Shamamat al Anbar fi ma warada fil Hind min Saiyid al-Bashar, (3) Subhat al-Marjan fi Athar Hindustan, (4) Sanad al-saada fi Husn khatimat al-Sadat.[3]

Figh:

On the principles of Figh one important book was composed in India during the entire span of the Mughal period down to 1724. It is entitled Musallam as-Jubut, composed by

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1. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 264.

2. Maasir-ul Kiram, pp. 257-77; Sarwi Azad, p. 253; Tazkira-i-Ulama-i Hind, pp. 108-9; Ma'arif, vol. XXII, No.5, p.270.

3. Muhammad Ishaq, India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature, Decca, 1955, p. 162.

that versatile genins, Muhibb Allah Bihari.[1] Though born at Karah in Bihar, he was appointed Qazi of Lucknow by Aurangzeb and passed sufficient time there. His attachment to Lucknow was strong and so his name can be aptly mentioned in the galaxy of highly distinguished scholars who left an indelible imprint on scholarly traditions and juritic and philosophical learning in India. His _Musallam as-Subut_ on principles of _Fiqh_ (_Usul al Fiqh_) written in 1697 and Sullam on logic rank among the most respectable contributions of India to Islamic learning and Arabic literature.[2]

The _Musallam al-Subut_ is based on a number of commentaries over the years and has since long remained as one of the leading works in the Indian curriculam. One important commentary on this work was written by the reputed Maulana Abdul Haiya, _Bahr al-Ulum_. An important feature of the work consist of the inter-relation between _Usul-i Fiqh_[3] and logic as established by the author. Another speciality of the work is the appendix dealing with the meaning and the rational of _Ijtihad_.

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1. _Maasir-ul Kiram_, p. 204; _Tazkira-i Ulama-i Hind_, p.109; _Hadaiqul Hanafiya_, p. 105; _Encyclopaedia of Islam_,p.905; _India's Contribution to Arabic Literature_, p. 103; _The Indian Muslim_, p. 309; _An Intellectual History of Islam in India_, pp. 7-8.

2. _India's Contribution to Arabic Literature_, p. 56.

3. _Ibid._, p.56.

The book consists of an introduction, two main sections (1) Mahadi (data), (2) Maqasid (conclusions) and an appendix. "The introduction contains discussions on the definition, scope and purpose of this science." "The four roots for the deduction of laws, the Quran, sunnah (the Prophet's saying and doings), Ijma (consensus) and Qiyas (analogy), are the subject-matter of this science.[1] The purpose of Usul al-Fiqh is to gain knowledge of religious injunctions." "The Musallam al-Subut as a text-book is highly appreciated not only in India but also in Egypt."

On the commentries on standard books of Usul-i Fiqh a commentary was composed by Mulla Jiwan.[2] It was entitled Sharhi Manar al-Anwar. This commentary was of standard size, clear and forceful and has since been appreciated in India and in Madina and Egypt.

Education:

Education was an striking feature of the social and cultural life in Mughal period. All the big cities and towns of the Empire, having sizable Muslim population, remote villages and interior country-side were all studded with

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1. India's Contribution to the Arabic Literature, p. 57.
2. India's Contribution to the Arabic Literature, pp.69-70.

educational institutions maintained by the State, the nobility public or private charity or the adventure of individual scholars who were the rallying centres for the students and the scholars alike.

Awadh had earned reputation as being the credle of arts and letters during the Mughal times.[1] In this *subah* there were a number of *Madrasas* and centres of higher learning not only in the important cities like Lucknow,[2] Faizabad, Daryabad, Khairabad, Gorakhpur, Bahraich etc but small town like Dewa, Rudauli, Sehali, Selon, Bilgram, Amethi, Kakori, Gopamau, Jais,[3] had become citadels of learning, education and scholarly pursuits where *Madrasas*[4] flourished, *ulama* took up their abode and the lamp of instruction, dissemenation of knowledge, erudition and consummate scholarship was kept learning and its resplendent rays reached not only the remotest corners of the *subah* but beyond its confines to the distant regions of India and even abroad.

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1. *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, p. 79.
2. *Hindustan ki Qadim Darsgahai*, pp. 36, 37, 38.
3. *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, p. 55.
4. *Maktabs* and *Madrasas* may roughly be likened to our present-day primary or middle schools and high schools or intermediate colleges respectively, though in many cases a Madrasa was little short of a full fledged college of these days, Jaffar, S.M.; *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*.

There is substance of truth in the observations of Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami that the entire *subah* of Awadh and a large part of the *subah* of Allahabad possessed the peculiar characteristic of being dotted with colonies of elites and scholars at every distance from five to ten miles who had been the receipents of allowances and grantees of *madad-i ma'ash* lands from the kings and nobles.[1] Their munificence was responsible for the construction of mosques, *madrasas*, *khangahs* etc and the renowned scholars and eminent teachers like Maulana Abdus Salam, Mulla Ali Quli, Qazi Mubarak, Maulana Fazal Huq and Mulla Nizamuddin of Sihahi adorned the *masnads* of knowledge to guide and instruct the pupils of special important was the existence of seekers of knowledge who were on move from city to city in search of accomplished scholars and learnt at their feet.[1]

The State authorities, the nobles and the well-to-do persons took pride in providing all kinds of comforts and facilities to the students.[2] It was on account of this kind of brisk intellectual and educational activity that Emperor Shah Jahan described it as Shiraz of the Empire.

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1. *Hindustan Mein Qadim Islamic Darsgahai*, p. 58.

2. *Hindustan Mein Mussalmano ka Nizam-i Talim wa Tarbiyat*, p. 99.

This educational and literary efflorescence continued upto the year 1130 A.H. in the beginning of Mohammad Shah's reign when Burhanul Mulk Saadat Khan Nishapuri was appointed *subahdar* of Awadh.[1] He abolished all the old and new allowances and *madad-i ma'ash* grants, which caused economic distress to the noble families and weakened the zeal of the teachers and the pupils. Owing to this factor most old madrasas became ruined. The next *subahdar*, Safdar Jung took among the remainder of the *madad-i ma'ash* lands, adding to the miseries of the *Ulama* and the students. Consequently, the old traditions of learning, education, piety and scholarship suffered a setback. The students abandoned the pursuit of knowledge and either took to military service or went in search of employment.

The Curriculum and the Method of Instruction:

The curriculum in vogue in Awadh during the Mughal period included instruction of traditional and rational sciences with particular emphasis on the former. Arabic was the language of the instruction of religious sciences but Persian was the language of culture, poetry, prose and secular, moral didactic, ethical learning.[2]

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1. *Al-Minhaj*, p. 210.
2. *Al-Minhaj*, p. 68; *Hindustan Mein Qadim Islami Darsgahai*, 36; *Hindustan Mein Mussalman-o-ka Nizam Talim wa Tarbiyat*, 311; *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, 87.

The subjects included study of Arabic grammer, rhetoric, logic and philosophy, scholasticism, Islamic law, jurisprudence, astronomy, methematics, medicene, Quranic exegesis (<u>Tafsir</u>) Tradition(<u>Hadith</u>), mysticism (<u>Tasawwuf</u>).[1]

We find annotations and <u>Hawashi</u> (marginal notes and interlinear notes) being composed by scholars in this age which were prescribed in syllabi in order to make difficult text-books easy for comprehension.

Arguments, disputations, searching questions and continued discussions for days together on selected topics formed a regular feature of the educational system. <u>Fiqh</u> or Islamic law and jurisprudence was very popular as it afforded larger opportunities for employment under the State in the capacities of <u>Qazis</u>, <u>Muftis</u>, <u>Mutawallis</u> of <u>madad-i ma'ash</u> lands etc. The method of teaching stressed on cramming and comprehension, questioning and explaination, referencing and annotations.

The students in most cases were provided with books, food, clothing, lodging. The place of instructions were usually the <u>madrasas</u> housed in quadrangles of the mosques or

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1. <u>The Indian Muslims</u>, pp. 407-8; <u>Al-Minhaj</u>, p. 153. <u>Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture</u>, p. 87.

attached to them.[1] Here and there one would find a teacher with a band of students attending his courses in higher learning. The whole atmosphere of education was overwhalemed with serenity and deep interest shown by both the teacher and the taught.

The Madrasa of Farangi Mahal and the Dars-i Nizami:

The Madrasa of Farangi Mahal and the peculiar system of education and the curriculum known as the Dars-i Nizami were founded by Mulla Nizamuddin Sihalwi, a distinguished scholar and teacher of high reputation.[2] He was an excellent writer, teacher, mystic theologian and scholar of traditional and rational sciences.

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1. Al- Minhaj, p.67; Bana-i Dars-i Nizami, p.209; Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Orient Culture, pp. 17,39,54-5, 79, 94,176,278; The Indian Muslims, p. 408; Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule, p. 76.

2. Mulla Nizamuddin Sihalwi was the illustrious son of Mulla Qutbuddin Sihalwi, popularly known as Mulla Qutb Shaheed. The latter was a great scholar who taught pupils for a long time in his madrasa at Sihali in district of Lucnow According to Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami "Most of the Ulama of Hindustan to date trace their academic descent from him." (Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 209). He learnt traditional sciences from Mulla Shaikh Daniyal Janrasi and Qazi Ghasi and in tassawwuf he was a disciple of Qazi Ghasi, one of the khalifahs of Shaikhzadas of the Usmaninand the Ansari clans. Mulla Qutbuddin an Ansari also became a victim of the raid of the Usmani clan in a zamindari dispute between these clans. His madrasa was beseiged, its walls breached and he was killed by the assaitants. His sons, brothers and other relatives moved to Lucknow where they were donated a manseon known as Farangi Mahal, formerly owned and occupied by Dutch factors to live in. Qutbuddin's boy son, Nizamuddin also resided there. When he came of age, he became a well known

(continued on next page.....)

The Dars-i Nizami was a curriculum devised and drawn up by this renowned teacher who dedicated his life to the service of learning and teaching. It came to be associated with the Madrasa of Farangi Mahal at Lucknow. It is a testimony to the genius of its founder that the curriculum had has endured ever since and has attracted students from far and wide to prosecute studies in terms of its prescribed texts.[1]

The subjects and corresponding works prescribed under the Dars-i Nizamiyah were as follows:

Grammar- Etimology

Mizan, Munshaib, Sarf Mir, Panjganj, Zubdah, Fusul-i Akbari, Shafiyah, Syntax - Nahw Mir, Sharh-i Miat Amil, Hidayatun-Nahw, Kafiyah, Sharh Jami, Rhetovic - Mukhtasarul Maani, Mutawwal (up to Manna qutta). Philosophy Sharh Hidayat-ul Hikmah of Maibudhi, Ash Shamsul-Bazigha, Sadra.

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scholar and teacher of great learning and knowledge. His mansión, Farangi Mahal housed the madrasa which soon became a centre of attraction to students and scholars from far and near. Nizamuddin not only developed this institution which later became an international seat of learning but he also framed a curriculum, the Dars-i Nizami which evolved a definite pattern of teaching and method of instruction in both religious and secular knowledge. Maasir-ul Kiram, pp.209-210, 220-24; Bani-i-Dars-i Nizami, pp.259-80; Aghsan-ul Arbia, Waliullah,pp.2-3; The Indian Muslims, pp. 67-68; Tazkira-i Ulama-i Hind,p. 241; Ulama-i Farangi Mahal, p. 9.

1. Bani Dars-i Nizami, pp. 259-280.

Logic:

Sharhash-Shamsiyyah, Sullamul-Ulum, Risala-i Mir Zahid, Mulla Jalal, Sughra, Kubra, Isaghoji, Tahdhib, Sharh Tahdhib, Qutbi, Mir Qutbi.

Scholasticism:

Shrh-i Mawaqif, Mir Zahid, Sharh Aqaid of Nasafi.

Tafsir (Commentary):

Jalulain of Jalaud-Din Mahalli and Jalalud-Din Suyuti, Baidawi.

Figh (Islamic law):

Sharh-i Wiqaya (first two books), Hidayah (last two books).

Usulul-Figh(Principles of law):

Nurul Anwar, Taudihut-Talwih, Musallamuth-thubut (the portion dealing with Mabadi Kalamiyyah).

Hadith:

Mishkatul-Masabih.

Mathematics:

Khulasatul-Hisab, Euclid, Tashrihul Aftak, Qaushjiyyah, Sharh Chaghmini (Chapter I).

Course of Instruction in Persian:

Prose and Composition:

Badaiul-Insha (or Insha-i Yusufi), prose works of Mulla Jami and Mulla Munir, letters of Abul Fadl, Handbook of Shaikh Inayatullah, Secretary to Shah Jahan, Bahar-i Sukhan by Shaikh Muhammad Salih, letters of Mulla Munir, Epistles of Shaida and Mulla Tughra, Story of Lal Chand, Lilavati translated by Shaikh Faidi.

Poetry:

Yusuf Zulaykha, Tuhfat-ul Ahran and Nuzhat-ul Abrar by Mulla Jami, Sikandarnama, Makhzan-ul Asrar, Haft Paikar, Shirin Khusrav, Laila Majnun by Nizami, Qiranu-i Sadain, Matla-ul-Anwar, Ijazi-Khusrawi by Amir Khusrau, Diwans of Shams-i Tabriz, Zahir-i Faryabi, Sadi, Hafiz and Saib. Qasaid of Badr-i Chach, Anwari, Khaqani, Urfi and Faidi

Fiction:

Tuti-nama of Nakhshabi, Anwar-i Suhaili of Husain Waiz Kashifi, Iyar-i-Danish of Shaikh Abdul Fadl, Bahar-i-Danish of Shaikh Inayatullah.

History:

Zafarnama of Sharafud-Din Ali Yazdi, Akbarnamah of Abul Fazl, Iqbal-nama-i Jahangiri, Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, Razm-nama (translation of the Muhabharat), Shah-nama of Firdausi.

Ethics:

Akhlaq-i Nasiri, Akhlaq-i Jalali, works of Sharafud-Din Maniri, Nuzhat-ul Arwah, Mathnawi of Maulana Rum, Hidiqah of Sanai.[1]

The curriculum produced a wide effect and was adopted by various institutions with some variations and modification. "The principle on which this curriculum was cast was that one most difficult, comprehensive book on the subject should be a text. Reforms were introduced in the course find by Fathullah of Shiraz in Akbar's reign. Maula Shibli believes that Musiqi of music was a part of this curriculum. The introduction of philosophy by Fathullah was continued but Mulla Nizamuddin's successors began to add commentaries how tended to lower the value of original texts. Philosophy has influenced the principles of Islamic law in this curriculum.[2]

The defects of the curriculum were:(1) great emphasis on memorisation and cramming as against developing the critical faculty of the student, (2) excessive weightage in favour of books on logic and philosophy as against other disciplines, (3) choosing one or two difficult books on a subject and entire reliance on this selection for the consummation of the knowledge in that particular branch.

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1. The Indian Muslims, p.408; Al-Minhaj, pp. 73,74,75,76,77,78.
2. Promotion of learning in India, p.28; Al-Minhaj, 76; Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, p. 87,88.

Some Eminent Teachers of the Period:

Mulla Qutbuddin Shaheed Sihalwi[1]

He was an adept both in the rational and the traditional sciences. He was from the Shaikhzadas of Sihali, a dependency of Lucknow. They are divided into two branches - Ansari and Usmani and the chieftaiship of the city and zamindari of the region belongs to them. Qutbuddin belonged to the former. He was a pupil of such eminent saint as Qazi Ghasi, disciple of Shaikh Muhibbullah Ilahabad. He leart at the feet of Mulla Shaikh Daniyal Jaurasi, pupil of Mulla Abdus Salam Dewa.

He lectured to student most of his life. A large number of the Ulama of the present age trace their connection of scholarship to him. He died in 1103 at the hands of the assassins.[2] One of his chief disciples was Maulvi Syed Qutbuddin Shamsabadi who hailed from Amethi in Awadh but settled in Shamsabad in sarkar Qanauj.[3] Hafiz Amanullah Banarasi (d. 1133 A.H.) was also appointed Sadr of Lucknow by order of Emperor Shah Jahan while Qazi Muhibbullah was Qazi of Lucknow at that time.[4]

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1. Ulama Farangi Mahal, p. 10; Maasir-ul Kiram, 209.
2. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 209.
3. Maasir ul Kiram, p. 210.
4. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 211.

Shaikh Ghulam Naqshband Lucknawi hailed from the town of Khosi in the sarkar of Jaunpur. He was contemporary of Aurangzeb and Shah Alam Bahadur Shah and Mruid of Mir Mohd. Shafi, son of Pir Mohammad Lucknawi, a great saint but his Pir seated him on his father Pir Mohammad's sajjada and kissed his feet. He was a great scholar and mystic

سلسلهٔ اکثر فضلای عصر به انتساب منتهی می‌شود که شاه عالم بهادر
شاه ایشان را تکلیف ملاقات کرد اعزاز و اکرام بیش از حد به تقدیم رساند ـ

He spared no efforts in protecting and promoting the shariat.[1] He composed a number of works on the Tafsir of the various surahs of the Quran.[2]

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1. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 213.
2. Maasir-ul Kiram, p. 216.

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Society :

The pattern of society in Awadh was similar to that which operated in other parts of northern India during the Medieval period. The upper strata of society was consisted of *jagirdars*, *zamindars*, government officials, merchants, and groups of non-governing elites. They held vast lands under their possession and controlled other means of production in the areas under their political influence. Immense wealth and power had made them extremely powerful and independent leaders with whom the lower sections of soceity had to adjust relations an unequal terms. In social life they indulged in all kinds of licentious pleasures including wine, women and other frivolous pursuits like hunting, animal fights and the games of chess, dise etc. They spent huge sums of money on pomp and show to keep their dignity and status in society. On such occasions as marriage celebrations, birth of a son, festivals and demonstration of victories they squaridered away enormous sums of money in feasts and festivities, dance and music parties. This class had built palaces and mansions at huge costs both for purposes of splendour and shelter, as well as to demonstrate their wealth and resourcefulness to the public. Thus they enjoyed undisputed superior position in the social order. The large number of servants and retainers employed by them in the establishments involved enormous

expenditure which was obviously met with the surplus money extorted forcibly and unlawfully from the weaker sections of society.

The subah of Awadh had a vast area under the hold of zamindars who were careful to maintain their time-honoured privileges and were able to x usurp lands belonging to the adjoining zamindari or the tracts of the khalisa.[1] Many of the zamindars were eager to assert an independent or semi-independent staus and defy the imperial authority by with-holding state revenues. Their haughty and defiant attitude had caused continous conflict with the law-enforcing agenceis of the government functioning in their areas.[2]

The lower strata of the society comprising of peasants, landless labourers, artisans and workers suffered from acute poverty and destitution. Their condition was wretched and deplorable. They were subjected to extortions and other kinds of hardship by the landowners and officials.[3] In times of

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1. Tarikh-i Gorakhpur, f. 7a-b; The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 160n; District Gazetteers of U.P. of Agra and Oudh, vol. XXXI, 1919, pp. 176-77, 214, 215-16; B.R.Grover, Nature of Dehati Taaluqa (Zamindari village and the Evolution of the Taaluqdari System during the Mughal Age), The Indian Economic and Social History Review, April, 1965, vol. II, No. 2, p. 168.
2. Insha-i Roshan Kalam, f.
3. Bernier writes, "Let us draw from the soil all the money we can, though the peasant should strave or abcond and we should leave it, when commanded to quit, a dreary wilderness." Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 227.

agricultural calamities the zamindars would not always allow them concessions, remissions or advance them interest-free loans to rehabilitate them. They were ill-fed and ill-clad and could not provide their children education or higher-skill in different professions. This poor class was resigned to fate.[1]

In between these two, the higher and the upper strata of society, there was a small middle class in Mughal Awadh. It had its main concentration in cities and towns. Among these may be counted holders of the madad-i ma'ash land, the Ulema, the physicians, the poets, men of letters, painters, small bankers, and owners of small cottage industries atleast their produce should have been purchased by the common man, and not by the aristocrates alone. In fact even among this class there were groups who were better off than the others. The economic condition of this class was better than that of the lower class. This group depended, much on the patronage of the royalty, nobility and the zamindars. This class was also the upholder of many of the traditions of culture, education and art.

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1. The Agrarian System of the Mughal India, pp. 317-51.

Condition of Women:

Women of the higher and the middle-class observed purdah,[1] acquired education and were culturally advanced[2] but the women of the poor masses could not afford to remain confined to their houses and they participated with their menfolk in the fields and also worked in the houses. Polygamy was in vogur among the higher class.[3] Sati or burning of the widow at the funeral pyre of the deceased husband was practised among the Hindus.[4] It is strange to find mention of the refarious custom of female infanticide being practised among all the castes of the Rajputs and the taint of killing, the daughter was removed by the pruhoit who would take food prepared from him and declare absolution of the crime from the killer's family.[5] Child-marriage was common[6] but divorce

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1. "Pardah is an ancient indigenous institution and has been in existence in India from times immemorial." Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, p. 200; Women in Mughal India, p. 134.
2. Life and Letters under the Mughals, p.148; Women in Mughal India, p. 87.
3. A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India, Vol. II, pp. 33-34;
4. Forcible Sati was strictly forbidden by the Muslim kings, but was permitted when done voluntarily. This was indeed one of the noblest contributions of Muslim Rule to the cause of Indian womanhood. Early Travels in India, p. 119; Travels in the Mughal Empire, p. 306-14; Tavernier's Travels, Vol. II, p. 162. Rekha Misra, Women in Mughal India pp. 15, 132-134; Storia do Mogor, vol. III, p.156; Life and Letters Under the Mughals,p.117; Women in Mughal India, p.132.
5. Sleeman in Oudh, edited by P.D.Reeves,Cambridge,1971,pp. 169,202,206,208-9, 279.
6. Life and Letters Under the Mughals,p.113; A Social,Cultural and Economic History of India, vol. II, p. 32.

was rare.[1] Various kinds of cosmetics[2] like collyrium for applying to the eyelids, sandal wood powder and numerous perfumes, hair-oil and missi were used. In the Padmavat of Malik Muhammad Jayasi there is a detailed description of women's toilet. "They go in for bathing, application of Sandal, and vermilion on the parting of hair, a spangle on the forehead." Collyrium, ear-rings, nose-studs, betel to redden the lips, necklet, armlets, a girdle and anklets. than there are sixteen graces, four long, four short, four stout, and four thin."[3] Abul Fazl in the Ain-i Akbari describes 16 items for a woman's toilet which included bathing, anointing, braiding the hair, deck ing the ~~sax~~ crown of her head with jewels, sectarian marks of caste after decking with pearls, jewels and gold, linting with lamp-black like collyrium, staining the hands, eating pan and decorating herself with various ornaments as nose-ring, necklaces,rings, wearing a belt hung with small bells, garlands of flowers et.[4] Women were very fond of dressing their hair. Young girls made their hair into tresses and tied them with ribbon. They also

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1. Life and Letters Under the Mughals, p. 117.
2. Women in Mughal India, pp. 4, 198.
3. G.A. Grierson on Padmavat, J.A.S.B. 1893, Part I, p.179.
4. Life and Letters under the Mughals, p. 12.

plaited and perfumed them with scented oil.[1] Long hair was very much liked. Hindu ladies used to put a vermilion mark on the parting of their hair. Strings of sweet flowers were worn around their necks by young laides. The use of mehndi to give red colour to hands and feet was frequently made by women in Awadh. It served as a nail polish to redden their finger nails. They reddened their lips with the batel leaf. Women wore a variety of ornaments such as nose-ring, ear-ring etc. Ornaments of gold, silver, brass were in great demand.[2] Abul Fazl has enumerated 37 items of ornaments in his list in his list in the Ain.

Fairs:

Awadh was a land sacred both to the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindus held fairs at various places like Ajodhya, Naimisar Misrikh in Sitapur District were important places of pilgrimage may be mentioned Bahraich, the most important and oldest place of pilgrimage in Awadh,[3] Kichhaucha and Lucknow. In Lucknow the tomb of Shaikh Mina was visited by the devotees all the year round. At Kichhancha lies buried the great Chishti

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1. Storia Do Mogor, Vol. III, p. 40.
2. [illegible], p. 13; Women in Mughal [illegible]
3. The Indian Muslims, p. 303.

saint, Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani in District Faizabad.[1] It was a centre of attraction for Muslims, Hindus and other people because of the miraculus powers supposed to have been exercised by the saint to cure diseases and to answer the prayers and supplications of the devotees. Annual fair to celebrated the death anniversary of the saint was held in the month of Muharram and was attended by a mammoth gathering. But the greatest fair in Awadh was that of Salar Masud Ghazi at Bahraich.[2] Large number of people both Hindus and the Muslims would visit the shrine and make their offerings to the tomb of Salar Masud and invole the aid of the deceased soldier-saint for the fulfilment of their desires. Describing the fair, Abul Fazl writes, "Bahraich is a large town on the bank of the river Sarju. Its environs are delightful with numeroud gardens. Salar Masud and Rajab Salar are both buried here. The common people of the Muahmmadan faith attach great reverence to this spot and pilgrims visit it from distant parts, forming themselves in bands and bearing gilded banners. The first mentioned was connected by blood with Muhammad Ghaznavi, and sacrificed his life in battle which made him immestal. The second was the father of Sultan Firoz king of

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1. Khwajah Samnani was an outstanding sufi and a prolific writer. He came to India with Shaikh Ali Hamadani, joined the circle of murids of Shaikh Alaul Haqq, and settled at Kichhancha, in Oudh. M. Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims, p.171n; Tazkirah-i Ulama-i Hind, p. 23.

2. Sleeman in Oudh, p. 69, 288.

Delhi and won renown by the recitude of his life."[1]

People in Awadh:

Hindus and Muslims belonging to all classes believed in omens, palmistry and astrology.[2] There were the common vices and the keeping of concubines among the upper and middle class were very common. The common people were simple, honest, frank and morally balanced. Caste was observed and caste rules were adhered to in diet, marriage and ceremonial purity. The disputes of the people were decided by caste or village panchayats or by the zamindars.[3]

Dress:

In the subah of Awadh the variety of Mughal dress was common. It consisted of, formen, turban, a short coat, light ankle-length trousers, high-heel shoes and a girdle round the waist. This was the dress of the upper classes in Delhi and was also in vogue in Awadh. This dress included a short-sleeved undergarment with a sort of bodice up to the elbows. Over this they wore a coat which was an improvement Persian modern. It had a collar but the lapels on both sides, which were known a parda, folded over each other and covered the chest. The

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1. Ain-i Akbari, Vol. II, p. 182-83; John Subhan, Muslim Saint and Shrines, p. 81, Hadiqat-ul Aqalim, p. 105.
2. Srivastava, The First two Nawabs of Awadh, p. 256.
3. Ibid., p. 257.

trousers were tight at the bottom and those of wealthy men were made of silk. Over this coat a sash was tied round the waist.[1] This was the dress of the nobles and the wealthy men of India. The Muslim and embroidered cloth of Decca was particular to nobles and royalty.

Later on a copy of the Persian cap, known as balabar was invented, the rounded collar of which was completely open. This was the first example of what later developed a shervani. Another improvement on the balabar the _angarkha_ was used which was a combination of the _jama_ and balabar and created a new fashion. In Awadh the Delhi _angarkha_ was made more close-fitting. The bodice was also tightened, the pleats at the sides disappeared entirely and the bottoms were edged with lace.[2]

In Lucknow a _Shahika_, a waist-coat up to the neck, was worn in place of the bodice, with buttons in front. The second improvement made in Lucknow was the development of chapkan. In Delhi _pyajamas_ with wide legs was worn. This style also became popular with youths of upperclass families. In Lucknow these _pyjamas_ became even wider. In Lucknow two types of _payjamas_ were popular, the wide once and tight onces. In winter the rich person also used shawl, called doshala and embroidered Muslim scarves.[3]

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1. _Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture_, p.169.
2. _Ibid_.
3. _Ibid_.

The early dress of Muslim ladies in Lucknow was _payjamas_ which were very tight at the hems, tight-fitting _ungia_ over the breasts with half sleeves and a _kurta_ covering the lower front and the back. The front and back were kept in place by two long straps hanging from the shoulders. Over this was a _duppata_, a light mantle three yards long, which was at first draped over the head but later only hung across the shoulders. But ladies of the poor man used coarse and light garments which would not vover their entire body but would cover widel parts. The poor man and peasants would move about half nacked and scantly dressed particularly in summer times.[1] In cold weather they would put on a small jacket, stuffed with cotton.

House:

The houses of the nobility, the _zamindars_ and high government officials were palatial and well-known for their outward pomp and ostentation. The houses of wealthy men and merchants however grand and spacious inside had the out-ward appearance of ordinary houses.[2] The disappearance of most of the palatial houses and mansions of Mughal Awadh showed that the material used was not of lasting durability and permanence.

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1. _A social, cultural and economic History of India_, p.48.
2. _A Social, cultural and Economic History of India_, Vol.II, p. 59; _Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India_, 171.

The houses of the common men were built of mud and thatch[1] and were not very comfortable. The middle-class and well-to-do person used to construct houses of small brcks or stone.

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1. A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India, Vol. II, p. 61.
   Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, p. 172.
   Sleeman in Oudh, pp. 66, 153-4, 188, 200.

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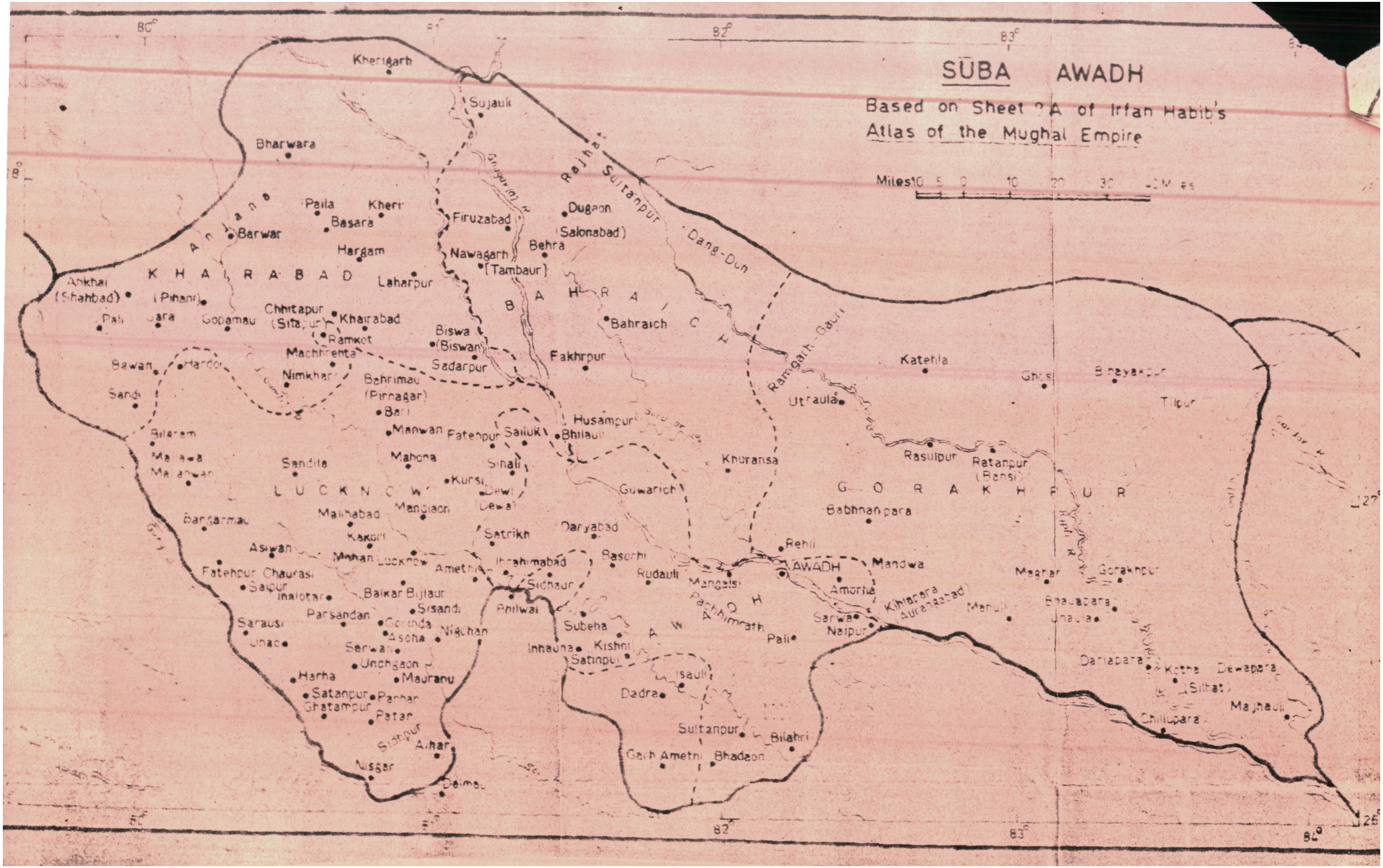
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SŪBA AWADH
Based on Sheet 9A of Irfan Habib's
Atlas of the Mughal Empire
Miles 10 5 0 10 20 30
KHAIRABAD
BAHRAICH
LUCKNOW
GORAKHPUR
AWADH
Kherigarh
Sujauli
Bharwara
Paila
Kherr
Basara
Barwar
Hargam
Laharpur
Firuzabad
Dugaon
(Salonabad)
Behra
Nawagarh
(Tambaur)
Bahraich
Fakhrpur
Biswa
(Biswan)
Sadarpur
Khairabad
Chhitapur
Ramkot
Machhrenta
Nimkhar
Bahrimau
(Pirnagar)
Ankhai
(Shahbad)
(Pihani)
Pali
Gopamau
Bawan
Hardoi
Sandi
Bilaram
Sandila
Manwan
Mahona
Fatehpur
Sailuk
Bhilaur
Husampur
Sihali
Kursi
Dewa
Malihabad
Bangarmau
Asiwan
Mohan
Lucknow
Amethi
Ibrahimabad
Sidhaur
Satrikh
Daryabad
Basorhi
Rudauli
Guwarich
Khuransa
Fatehpur Chaurasi
Saipur
Baikar Bijlaur
Sisandi
Parsandan
Sarausi
Unao
Asoha
Nigohan
Unchgaon
Mauranu
Harha
Satanpur
Panhan
Ghatampur
Patan
Aihar
Nisgar
Dalmau
Bhilwal
Subeha
Inhauna
Kishni
Satinpur
Isauli
Dadra
Sultanpur
Bilahri
Garh Amethi
Bhadaon
Mangalsi
Pachhimrath
Pali
Rehli
Amorha
Sarwa
Naipur
Mandwa
Utraula
Katehla
Rasulpur
Ratanpur
(Bansi)
Babhnanpara
Tilpur
Maghar
Gorakhpur
Manuli
Bhauapara
Daliapara
Kotha
(Silhat)
Dewapara
Majhauli
Chillupara
Rajha Sultanpur
Dang-Dun
Ramgarh-Gauri
80°
82°
83°
84°
26°
27°